No. 2 ● JANUARY 20, 1986 ISSN 0206—1473

NEW TIMES

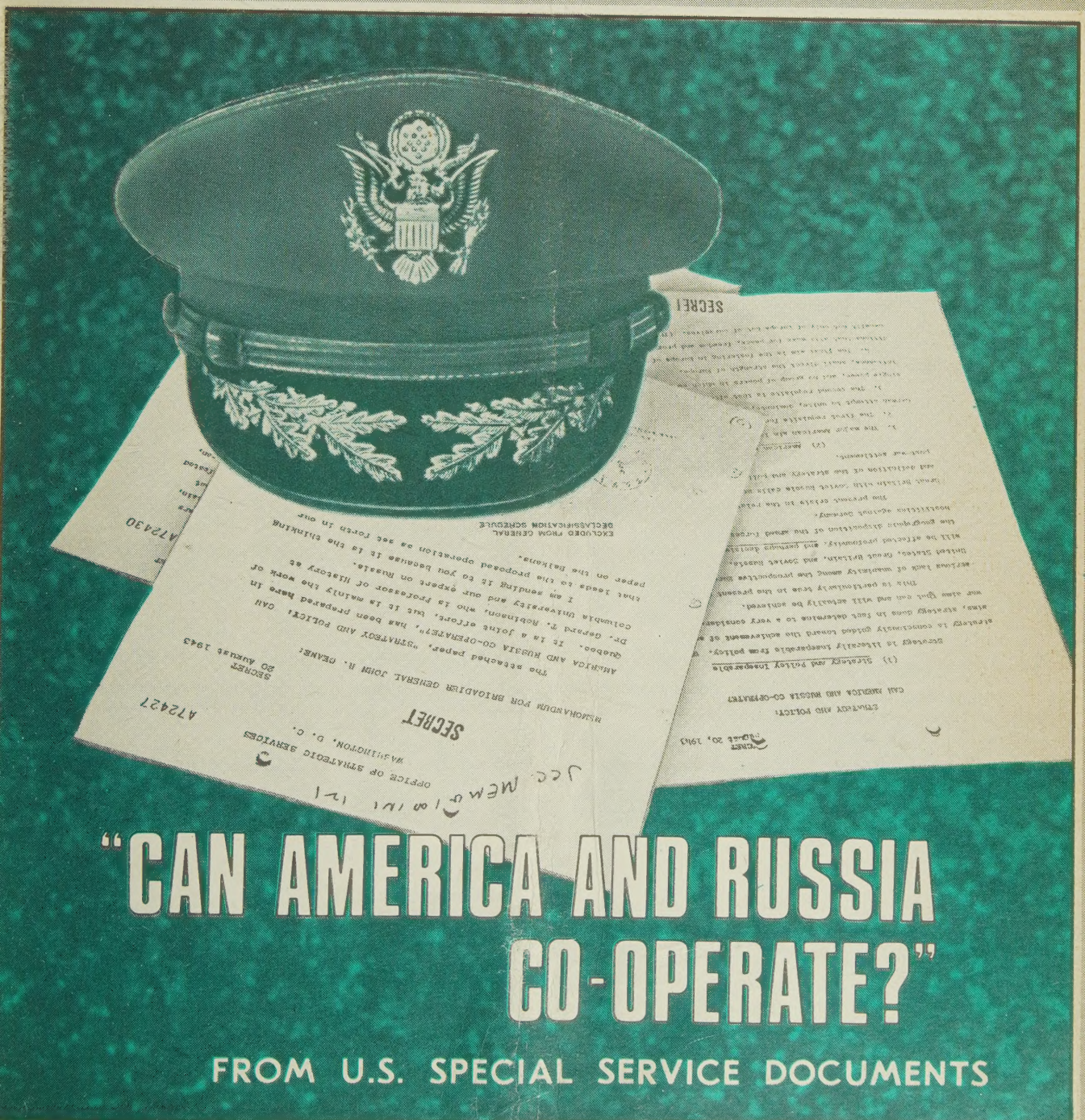
PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
JAN 22 1985
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

INTO THE FUTURE WITH OPTIMISM

U.S.S.R.—JAPAN: THE MESSAGE OF HISTORY

EYESIGHT RECOVERY "CONVEYOR"



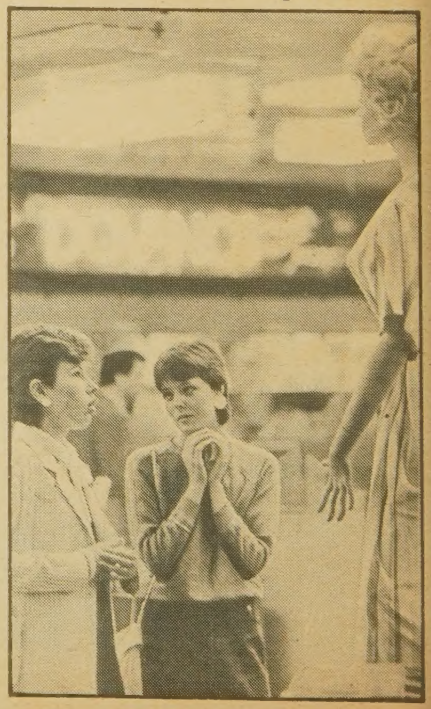
"CAN AMERICA AND RUSSIA CO-OPERATE?"

FROM U.S. SPECIAL SERVICE DOCUMENTS

A glimpse of the interior of Mercury.

TASS photos

"Make up your mind, are we taking it or not!"



THE SOVIET UNION IN PICTURES

There is working time and there is free time, but there is also something in between. You are not doing anything really useful, but neither are you relaxing. You are engaged in attending to your domestic chores. To reduce the time spent in this way is, of course, the job of the service sphere. After all, sociologists say the city dweller spends a good deal of his time shopping. Why? Not enough goods?

"No, not enough attention paid to customers," is the opinion of the staff of the new Kaunas department store Mercury. And they prove their point by trying to make shopping not the least enjoyable part of our leisure.

The sales personnel of the store are competent and obliging, but you don't really need to apply to them for help. A well-thought-out display of goods, snappy advertising and arresting price tags help the customers to choose the article that catches their fancy without any trouble. That explains why there are no queues in this shop which caters to 50,000 customers daily.

The customer is satisfied, but what about the shop assistants? They have to keep on their toes to measure up to the higher standard of efficiency required. Nevertheless there are always more applicants for a job here than vacancies. Young people like to serve in a shop where all the heavy work is mechanized, which leaves them more time to attend to the customers. This also makes for a better customer-salesclerk relationship, prevents rather than causes outbursts of negative emotions aggravated by the tense rhythm of modern urban life.

Good service makes for a good humour which in turn makes for efficiency on the job. Besides, good service relieves people of what we call "the petty annoyances of life." What is in question is actually people's daily needs. And attention to these needs is the core of the social policy of the CPSU, which extends to every sphere of people's lives: from their working and living conditions, health care and organization of leisure all the way to social and national relations.

BEACON OF HOPE

Another year has been left behind—eventful, difficult, turbulent 1985, beset by reefs of regional conflicts, battered by cold-war gales, and overshadowed by the threat of a nuclear typhoon, but nevertheless lit up by the ray of hope for a peaceful morrow for the world that came from the Soviet-American summit in Geneva.

It is symbolic that 1986 began with direct New Year's messages from Mikhail Gorbachev to the people of the United States and from President Ronald Reagan to the people of the Soviet Union. And on the eve of the New Year the CPSU General Secretary's television address to the nation brought to people of good will the world over added testimony to the unfaltering dedication of the Soviet land to peace.

"The Soviet Union," Mikhail Gorbachev said, "proceeds in its policy from the fact that in the nuclear age all the people of the world are in the same boat. To rock that boat by military adventurism is the height of irresponsibility.... For this reason the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries perseveringly work for peace, to improve international relations, to impart to them a civilized character as befits people living in the enlightened 20th century. It is necessary to rise above discord, to concentrate every effort on the search for avenues to mutual understanding, trust, and disarmament."

All sober-minded people wherever they may live, surely support this call wholeheartedly. The nuclear potential accumulated in the world is enough to destroy a million Hiroshimas. The instinct of self-preservation dictates the need to reverse the arms race. And the start must be made now, not left to our children. But the world can hardly be rid of fear for all time if a sufficient potential of trust between states and peoples is not built up. This most precious capital, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, should be accumulated grain by grain. And it is imperative to begin to remedy the present deficiency of trust in Soviet-American relations.

A salient feature of the Geneva meeting was that at it the first steps were taken towards overcoming distrust. There still is a wide gulf between Moscow and Washington, but the Geneva dialogue showed that it is not insuperable. It will, of course, take much effort to bridge it. For their part, the Soviet people are ready to exert that effort for the sake of universal peace.

Is the United States prepared to do likewise? Are the leaders of other Western countries aware of the need to display realism and farsightedness? Do they intend to cover their part of the way to mutually acceptable understandings? There are no simple answers to these questions.

It is heartening, of course, to hear it said more and more frequently in Western capitals that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be allowed to break out. But how can these verbal assurances be reconciled with such realities of the day as the persistent efforts made by Western militarist quarters, and primarily by those of the U.S., to carry the arms race to outer space? The fact remains that the Washington Administration and the Pentagon are continuing, in the interests of the military-industrial complex, to push through their "star wars" plans and to involve their NATO allies in the realization of these plans.

The very same forces of imperialist reaction that are obstructing the reduction of armaments are also blocking the just political settlement of regional conflicts. It is through their fault that the situation in the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa, and a number of other areas remains tense and explosive. And this, naturally, alarms all peoples.

In our time the people of all parts of the globe are in the same boat. And they are increasingly becoming aware of their responsibility for what happens to it. One indication of this is the movement of municipalities and other public organizations for the creation of nuclear-free zones which is gaining momentum in scores of countries. As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his reply to a message from Ken Livingstone of the Greater London Council, the Soviet Union highly evaluates the efforts of the participants in this movement, which reflects the striving of ordinary people everywhere for a peaceful life, détente, a better future. This striving is consonant with the desire of the people and government of our country to see this year, which the U.N. has proclaimed International Year of Peace, extend into a peaceful decade and humanity enter the 21st century in a climate of peace, confidence, and cooperation.

The ship of the nations continues its voyage through the seas of history. The beacon lit by the homeland of the October Revolution inspires in all on board the hope that the peoples will not allow adventurers to scuttle the ship, but will bring it safely to a world without wars and armaments.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ The results of the Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan were hailed with enthusiasm the world over. The summit gave the American President an opportunity to convince himself at first hand of the peaceableness of the Soviet side and the fact that the differences between the two countries, however great they may be, need not be an insurmountable obstacle to a dialogue. The continuation of that dialogue is in the interests not only of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. but of the whole world. The search for agreement that would ensure a more secure existence must go on. It is noteworthy that the results of the summit have been approved by a large section of American public opinion which has correctly evaluated the position of the CPSU General Secretary. The Geneva meeting is undoubtedly a new and important victory for Soviet foreign policy. It enhances the international prestige of the Soviet Union still more.

Enzo BANCALE
Solaro, Italy

◆ The Cuban revolution is 27 years old. And throughout all these years the powerful mass media of the United States and its lackeys in the region have been conducting a continuous aggressive campaign against my country, against the principled position of the Cuban Communist Party and its revolutionary government in foreign and domestic policy. The whole world knows of that downright act of provocation—the opening of an anti-Cuban radio station, which is a subsidiary of the Voice of America, that same "voice" that has discredited itself in the eyes of honest-minded people everywhere as the mouthpiece of the hostile campaigns waged against freedom-loving peoples. We have not forgotten, for instance, how cynically it tried to whitewash the criminals during the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Victor H. PURON
Guantanamo, Cuba

◆ As a Canadian I am deeply outraged at the vicious anti-Sovietism exhibited by my country's "socialist" ambassador to the U.N., Stephen Lewis. His tirade of lies before the United Nations on November 13, slanderously accusing the U.S.S.R. of occupying Afghanistan and of perpetrating numerous acts of genocide there utterly disgusted me. Knowing as I do the truth about the situation in Afghanistan, knowing that all of the genocide is actually committed by the CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries based in Pakistan, I thank God that the Soviet Union kindly consented to help the Afghan people defend themselves against the feudalistic assassins operating under the mask of "defenders of the faith."

Robert S. SMITH
Vancouver, Canada

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

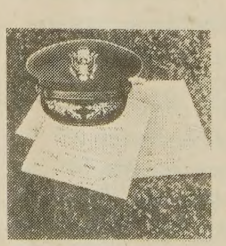
No. 2, JANUARY 20, 1986

Founded 1943

Editor-in-Chief: MIKHAIL FYODOROV
Associate Editors: L. Bezymensky, V. Chernyavsky, S. Golyakov, Y. Gudkov, A. Pin, B. Pishchik, V. Rubtsov, I. Trofimova, V. Tsoppi, D. Volsky.
Editor of English edition: **E. Smirnov**

CONTENTS

Beacon of Hope (The Editor's Page) 1
Towards the CPSU Congress
V. Kirichenko—**Planning and Initiative: Problems and Solutions** 3
Gus Hall—**"Only Through Struggle"** (Interview) . . . 4
Panorama
V. Godyna—**U.S.S.R.—D.P.R.K.: Ties of Friendship.** A. Vladimirsky and V. Turnayev—**Libya: Threats Again.** B. Nikolayev—**U.S.A.: Following the White House Line.** A. Baryshev—**Latin America: No Boon.** E. Korshunov—**Lebanon: Important Step Towards Peace.** P. Vasilyev—**Pakistan: Dictatorship in Mufti.** N. Reshetnyak—**Mali—Burkina Faso: Fighting Halted** 7
B. Pishchik—**U.S.S.R.—Mongolia: Accelerator of Social Development** 13
N. Bessonova—**Albania: When Rebirth Began** . . . 13
Notes ● Remarks 16
L. Bezymensky—**"Excluded from General Declassification Schedule"** (The Past and the Present) 18
G. Ustinov—**Afghanistan: Wholesale Terrorism** . . . 23
Y. Tavrovsky—**U.S.S.R.—Japan: The Monuments of Wakkanai** 25
T. Firsova—**The Fyodorov Method** (Science, Technology, Man) 27
M. Kobrin—**Taking Up a Point** 31
Postscript 32



See pp. 18-22 for a documentary feature drawing on documents from the archives of the U.S. special services. They show that America's present positions-of-strength policy stems from the anti-communist plans and illusions of the past.

Cover by A. Garanin

Design by A. Garanin
Publisher: Trud, Moscow
Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech
EDITORIAL OFFICE:
Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R.
Telephones: **229-88-72, 209-07-67 [information]**
Telex: **411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU**
Cables: **NEW TIMES PUSHKIN SQUARE MOSCOW**
Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PLANNING AND INITIATIVE: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

VADIM KIRICHENKO, D. Sc. (Econ.)
Director, Institute of Economics, U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee

The Party has put forward a programme of accelerated socio-economic progress, with businesslike local initiative encouraged in every way. The latter circumstance has been taken by certain Western critics of our system as all but the beginning of a collapse of our planned economy, as its switchover to market orientation. They claim that socialism has outlived itself as "a society where moral values prevail over material ones" and, in an attempt to prove this, quote Marx who said that "the 'idea' always disgraced itself insofar as it differed from the 'interest.'"

Marx did speak about such difference, and it is exactly our intention to bring the "interest" and the "idea" closer together through encouraging local initiative, to provide greater material incentives to individual working people and to whole work collectives by bringing remuneration into fuller conformity with the amount of work done. At the same time the Party is going to enhance the State Planning Committee's role and responsibility in the economic management system and to put into practice Lenin's idea of making it an economic research body employing prominent scientists and leading experts whose function it is to give an in-depth study to the prospects of the country's economic progress. No one is going to give up state planning in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we are determined to go on improving it at all costs.

Criterion of Progress

The planning mechanism currently in operation took shape largely in the period of our history when accelerated production growth and a quantitative increase in output were top-priority objectives. These objectives could be carried out only through drawing resources into economic turnover on a wide scale and using them wherever they were needed most. It was only in this way that we could revolutionize the material and technical basis of society.

Now the situation is different. The production machinery and the volumes of the resources used have grown enormously, and the structure of the economy has become more complicated. Scientific and technological progress is rapidly gaining momentum. Under the circumstances, the criterion of progress is not so much the quantitative growth of production as its conformity to the rapidly changing public requirements (given a rational use of resources). The ability of the economic system to promptly and flexibly respond to changes caused by the effect of the scientific and technological revolution on various spheres of the national economy is assuming an ever greater importance.

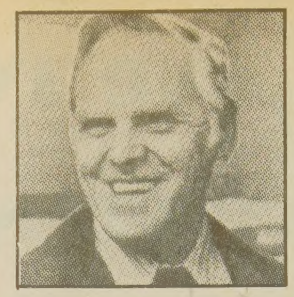
This calls for a radical improvement of the planning mechanism, for changes in economic management methods at all levels, for a wider use of material incentives as a means of accelerating economic progress. Consequently, the emphasis now is on broadening the economic independence and responsibility of the factory as the basic production unit, and of territorial management bodies, the idea being to gear production to the structure and dynamics of public requirements, to make fuller use of resources.

And what about national economic planning? It has always been and remains central to the entire system of economic management. The essence of national economic planning as we see it today can be defined as follows. A plan is, above all, a scientific substantiation of the country's economic and social strategy. A state plan establishes nationwide and interbranch proportions of production, and sets priorities in changing production patterns, in the social and technological policy, in the economic development of new regions.

Much has been done over the past few years to improve planning. A comprehensive 20-year programme of scientific and technological progress is being drawn up. Long-term plans—for 10 and 15 years—are being worked out along with one- and five-year ones. Scientific, technological, economic and social programmes for the solution of major problems are already operative. Plans for the development of interconnected complexes (agroindustrial, engineering, fuel-and-energy, construction) are being coordinated. Planning has become largely computerized. The national and the union republics' state planning committees are changing over to an automated system of plan indicator calculations.

All these measures have justified themselves in many ways. But much is still to be done. Now we must concentrate on intensifying the social orientation of our plans, on keeping abreast of scientific and technological progress, on orienting all our efforts on the end result. It is necessary to promote a system of interconnected short-, medium- and long-term plans while enhancing the role of long-term ones, to rationally combine branch and regional planning. Of special importance is the problem of ensuring a smoother interaction between the industries comprising an integrated multibranch complex. In point of fact, this signifies a changeover from a two-stage plan (national economy—branch) to a three-stage plan (national economy—multibranch complex—branch). This arrangement is taken into account in the new structure of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee. It looks as if interbranch

"ONLY THROUGH STRUGGLE"



Below our New York correspondent Andrei Arkhipov interviews GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

What is your opinion of the results of the Soviet-American summit?

The most significant concrete achievement of the Geneva summit is the beginning of the process of diplomatic, economic, cultural and political normalization of relations between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. This is very important because it is not possible to resolve problems and conflicts on a higher level without this first step. Therefore, because of the summit process the world is a safer place.

The concrete achievements of the Geneva summit must be put into the proper framework. Most of the specific Geneva agreements or understandings were a re-institution of agreements and practices that were cancelled by Reagan, and even Carter before him. The summit agreements are thus an admission that the policy of "punish the Soviet Union" has failed.

Of course, we must also take note of what was not achieved at the summit. There was no agreement on ending the nuclear arms race. No agreement on ending "star wars."

There was no agreement on regional conflicts. These conflicts, as Comrade Gorbachev made very clear, are not of the Soviet Union's making.

We, in the United States, see the summit process as a promise for the future, a promise that can only be realized through struggle.

There is a promise to speed up the Geneva negotiations.

There is a promise of an agreement on reducing nuclear missiles in Europe.

There are also important side effects and spinoffs from the summit in the U.S.

There is a change in leading U.S. monopoly circles, as reflected by Reagan and Shultz. They remain anti-communist and anti-Soviet. What has changed is:

— their estimate of the balance of forces;

— their estimate of the past seven years of cold-war policy;

— their estimate of other capitalist nations' attitudes;

— their estimate of the Soviet Union. They have given up trying to out-spend the Soviet Union into bankruptcy. They have a more realistic idea of the economic, scientific and technological, as well as political level of the Soviet Union;

— their assessment of the role of the U.S., which has also become more realistic. They see that the U.S. cannot dominate and dictate to the world. They know they need constructive relationships and must make concessions and accommodations they would rather not make, but are forced to.

As the process builds up steam the U.S. ultra-Right and extreme reactionaries like Weinberger and Falwell will of course become more extreme and vocal. But they will be even more out of tune with the times and the American people. As a result, their base will become narrower.

Those who support the summit ideas and developments, who are against "star wars," the inordinate military spending and policies of aggression will become bolder and get more support.

Liberal and progressive forces who tend towards peace, détente, cultural, scientific and student exchanges, as well as scientists, physicians and educators who are pro-peace and anti-"star wars," will become more vocal and active.

All this does not mean the ending of anti-Sovietism or anti-communism in the U.S., but it does mean the improved climate will make anti-Sovietism easier to combat.

The summit had a different effect on the U.S. than on any other country, especially on the American people and their attitude towards peace, disarmament and the Soviet Union.

The American people are generally positive about the summit. They are responding more to U.S.-Soviet relations than they have at any time since World War II.

The American people are relieved. They feel we have taken one step back from the brink.

The American people's expectations are very high that the summit process will—in fact must—continue.

Americans have an overall positive response to the prospect of the normalization of relations. They understand that this is a retreat from a long-standing cold-war policy. There is a growing awareness, especially in the light of the recent Soviet peace initiatives, that it is the U.S. that is the obstacle to nuclear disarmament and that "star wars" is an aggressive step towards escalating the nuclear arms race in space. For instance, 77 per cent of the American people want an arms control

---

planning is to become the predominant form of our supreme planning agencies' work in the near future.

The current system of planning stems from the assumption that all the branches of the economy are approximately similar as objects of planning. Actually, they differ as regards the role they have to play in the process of reproduction, in the economic importance of the products they make or the services they render, in the producers' and consumers' social position (state organizations, cooperative farms, individual consumers). Nowadays, therefore, a more differentiated choice of planning methods is expedient.

In the basic branches, for instance—such as the extraction of raw materials and mineral fuels, electric energy generation, the production of primary building materials, the chemical industry, certain categories of heavy engineering—directive planning practices will evidently not undergo any substantial changes. It should be borne in mind, however, that the work will be done in a different economic climate.

In the processing industries factories could be allowed considerably more independence. Their production programmes should provide for modifications of certain standard products to suit special market requirements (with the extra expenses involved to be met by the customer, of course).

In consumer goods production, for instance, the output of most products cannot be determined by centralized planning, especially if demand for these products fluctuates with the swiftly changing fashion. The range of the pro-

treaty and expect one to be concluded at Geneva when the talks resume.

The American people are taking seriously Reagan's speeches about better relations with the Soviet Union before and after the summit.

These are all changes taking place in the mass thinking patterns of the American people.

On the other hand, we Americans must keep in mind that the summit process does not mean the class struggle has been lessened—it still goes on and sharpens. The Reagan Administration's anti-working class, anti-union racist offensive against the American people continues. There cannot be any lessening of the struggles against aggression, against racism, anti-Semitism,' inequality, unemployment, poverty, homelessness, hunger and all the Reaganite anti-people programmes.

We have to keep in mind that the summit does not end U.S. policies of aggression in Central America. It does not put an end to U.S. support for the racist regime in South Africa. It does not solve the U.S. role in the Middle East in supporting Israel's expansionism.

The summit does not end the need for a strong peace movement in the U.S. It does not do away with the need to struggle for peace and against U.S. policies of aggression in Central and Latin America, in Asia and Africa. For example, a new struggle needs to be initiated for the implementation of the summit agreements.

What is your assessment of the recent Soviet peace initiatives?

The Soviet Union has assured the world in many ways, through hundreds of peace initiatives and concrete actions over the years, that its policy is not designed for military superiority over the U.S. Besides these, just in the past months the U.S.S.R. has taken major unilateral initiatives and taken such concrete steps for disarmament. The unilateral moratorium on all nuclear testing until January 1, and beyond that if the U.S. joins in, has taken hold in the imagination of the world's people. Such a bold initiative has demonstrated to the world at a critical moment who is for peace and who is for war.

The U.S. people are growing more and more aware that it is their own country's government and policies that are the obstacle to peace and disarmament.

The Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe affected especially the people of Europe. The unilateral removal of SS-20s from Europe to their June 1984 levels has added to the special effect on Europe, but also made a great impact on the perception of people universally.

The Soviet Union's proposals for ending all nuclear testing, for a 50 per cent reduction in nuclear armaments that can reach each other's territory, its unilateral pledge never to use nuclear weapons first and the concrete proposal for an agreement on practical ways leading to a complete ban and destruction of existing chemical weapons stockpiles are seen by the world as creative, constructive steps towards disarmament.

These bold Soviet actions open wide the door to peace. The U.S. need only meet the Soviet Union halfway. However, as a response to these moves, the Reagan Administration proceeded to carry out seven nuclear tests, and a flight test of the anti-satellite weapon (ASAT), which violates not only the 1972 U.S.-U.S.S.R. ABM Treaty, but also a law passed by the U.S. Congress.

The challenge of our times in the U.S. is to assure that the Reagan Administration policy of putting profits before peace is turned into a policy of peace without corporate profits, to assure that the promise of the summit process becomes a reality.

What is the role of the military-industrial complex in defining and discharging the policies of the present Administration?

The Pentagon's interrelationship with the state and the war production corporations—what we now call the state-military monopoly complex—is now more deeply intertwined and interconnected than ever before in U.S. history. This complex is the stumbling block to peace and disarmament. The war production industry, the monopoly corporations which are reaping astronomical profits from weapons production and "star wars" projects did not want the summit to take place and are adamantly against the summit process.

Profits from "star wars" have already bloated corporate coffers by billions and these billions have whetted their insatiable appetites for the estimated $1 trillion "star wars" chest.

The conflict of interest of those like Max Kampelman, who is at the same time a chief arms negotiator and a Lockheed lobbyist, and the fact that 77 per cent of the contracts for "star wars" projects were given to corporations in states whose Congressional representatives head or sit on committees that award military contracts, demonstrate the conflict between peace and profits. The main obstacles to the successful fulfilment of the summit process are the Pentagon, corporate profits and unprecedented corruption.

However, as a result of the summit, the peace forces in every area have a better climate, an improved atmosphere, in which to take bold initiatives.

New York

---

ducts made in this sphere should be prompted by consumer preferences, first and foremost. In this branch of industry factories should enjoy more independence in drawing up production programmes than in other branches, and the role of economic (non-administrative) methods of influencing production should be greater.

The Factory's Responsibility

Production units (factories) constitute the primary link of production. Here public requirements are fulfilled, our entire mighty economic potential is concentrated, and demands for new products and higher quality standards are registered. It should be borne in mind that in the U.S.S.R. modern industrial production is characterized by a high degree of concentration. On the average every Soviet industrial plant accounts for over 20 million rubles' worth of fixed assets and output and employs a workforce of over 1,200. More than 50 per cent of Soviet industrial output comes from production and research-production amalgamations where the degree of concentration is higher still.

Under the circumstances, continued tutelage over industrial plants conflicts with the objective process of the growing scale and complexity of industrial production. One way out would be to draw amalgamations and factories into national planning and thus to give scope for initiative from below—not just any initiative but initiative recognized by society, i.e., reflected in the plan concept

Enlisting the industrial plants' more active cooperation in drawing up plans is an important element of a wide-scale experiment in expanding the basic production units' independence and in enhancing their responsibility. The experiment boils down to having the factories draw up their own one-year plans on the basis of general production targets, with the wage, bonus and development funds set in accordance with the appropriate economic norms provided for by the five-year plan.

The experiment has shown that the use of economic incentives to encourage industrial plants to apply their resources more efficiently is justified. In 1984, the indices of the plans adopted by the factories themselves surpassed the target figures set by the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee.

In the course of the experiment, the target figures set by higher planning authorities were issued to industrial plants in advance, which allowed the latter more time for drawing up their own plans. Consequently, they selected their orders more thoroughly and were able to abandon the inertia of materials supplies and product deliveries being based not on coordinated plans but on the practices of the last few years.

Even so, inter-factory production agreements cannot be drawn up before the plan is ready. However, a production programme can be geared to consumer demand only if the very process of planning is linked up with inter-factory cooperation agreements. Such an agreement should be not only a means of fulfilling the plan but of drawing it up as well.

This calls for changes in the procedure of drawing up the national economic development plan. A factory should be assigned a wider range of functions, encouraged to establish a ramified network of horizontal ties and given a chance to draw upon inter-factory agreements in their own planning, which will enable them to respond more flexibly both to consumer demand and to the suppliers' offers.

The following basic planning scheme is suggested. To begin with, a five-year plan should be drawn up at all levels, the factory level included, as the basis of economic activity. This should be followed by the establishment of direct economic ties for a term of five years. The final stage should be continuous two-year planning, with a final (one-year) plan, based on coordinated inter-factory cooperation agreements, for the first year, and a preliminary plan, proceeding from the assignments set by the five-year plan currently in effect, for the second year. The latter should provide the basis for the next year's inter-factory cooperation agreements.

Such continuous two-year plans will not only lend flexibility to current planning, but will also make it possible to take a new approach to the five-year plan issue. Today this plan, which sets every industrial plant a large number of physical and value indicators distributed over the years, has turned out to be a very rigid, inflexible system which cannot be adapted to changes occurring over the five-year period. The introduction of two-year plans will help avoid excessive detail in the five-year plan and make it more flexible at the same time.

The above scheme offers, even though in general outline, the ways to bring more order and system into planning. Many specific approaches are yet to be worked out. It appears, nevertheless, that if carried into effect this scheme will make it possible to dovetail more closely the planning of production with the supply of resources to it. The inter-factory cooperation agreements will become part of the state plan, and the output pattern will be brought into strict conformity with that of consumer demand. Consequently, the plan itself will harmonize production with distribution.

Economic Levers

To improve planning at all levels means, above all, to shift the emphasis from administrative to economic methods in drawing up plans. What economic levers can be used already today to improve our planning practice?

There are several such levers: product prices, profit, profit distribution, pay for the resources utilized, wage funds, material incentive and factory development funds, taxes, sanctions for failure to fulfil obligations under inter-factory cooperation agreements, etc.

Of course, economic levers are widely used today as well. However, they have not formed an interconnected system as yet. This manifests itself, for instance, in inadequate pricing and in many resources (such as labour and natural resources) being used "free of charge" by some sections of the economy. Economic sanctions have no effect at all except to reduce the net profit. These shortcomings can be overcome chiefly through up-to-date centralized planning, which can no longer be reduced to setting physical and value indicators and to the centralized distribution of the corresponding material and financial resources. In the same (if not in a still greater) measure centralized planning should provide for a whole system of economic levers to regulate the functioning of the industry.

A centralized system of economic levers will help bring about an economic situation where production units would, on the one hand, be free to make concrete decisions and, on the other, would have to mind national interests when drafting and fulfilling plans.

Another way to improve the functioning of our economic mechanism is to balance out our economic growth rates. It would be no exaggeration to say that economic disproportions of quite a long standing have become the main obstacle to higher production efficiency.

Take our industry, for example. Its production facilities put into operation after, say, 1970 are operating way below capacity. This is caused chiefly by an inadequate supply of raw materials which, in turn, is due to a lack of coordination between the industries producing and processing these raw materials. This is clearly an inter-branch problem the solution of which lies with the central planning authorities.

It stands to reason that the restructuring of our economic mechanism and the intensification of our entire economy presuppose an improvement of our social policy and, probably, a revision of certain priorities in this sphere.

Over the past few years, the minimum wage level has gone up and there have emerged prerequisites for channelling the funds intended for increasing the working people's incomes chiefly into stimulating efficiency. This should probably be accompanied by a greater wage differentiation depending on the quantity and quality of the work done. It is also necessary to remove pay disproportions in various spheres of the national economy (productive and non-productive), to give wage increases to skilled personnel—engineers and technicians, above all, who are still somewhat underpaid. Such measures will add appreciably to production efficiency and must be provided for when drawing up long-term national economic development plans.

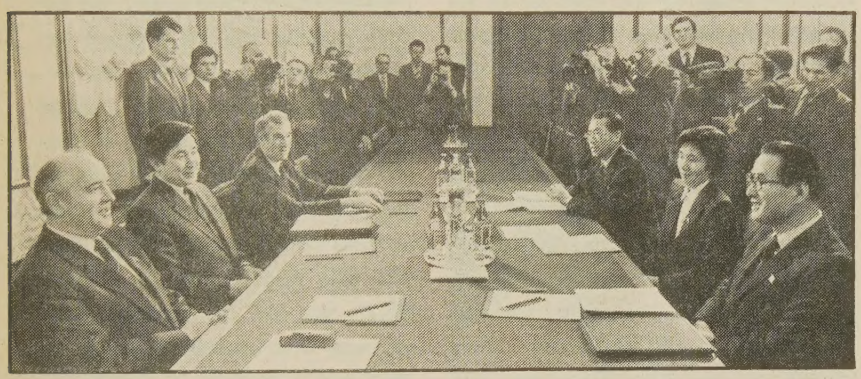
Last but not least, it is necessary to achieve the right proportion of the measure of work to the measure of consumption. In some cases, wages have for years been out of all proportion to work results. This situation must be rectified chiefly through stringent planning, banking and administrative control over the formation and spending of the wage fund. This is one of the important problems involved in the restructuring of the economic mechanism, including the system of planning at all levels—from the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee to accounting departments, production amalgamations and factories. Conformity of the measure of work to the measure of its remuneration has always been and remains a fundamental principle of our Party's social policy, the groundwork for the growth of national wealth and for the further rise in living standards.

■

U.S.S.R.—D.P.R.K.

TIES OF FRIENDSHIP

There is no limit to the improvement of cooperation between true friends. This was borne out by the official friendly visit paid to the Soviet Union at the end of December by Kang Sung Sang, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Premier of the D.P.R.K. Administrative Council.



The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Kang Sung Sang. TASS photo

The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Kang Sung Sang and the negotiations between Nikolai Ryzhkov, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and his Korean colleague showed that the relations between the two parties, governments and nations are making dynamic progress in the spirit of the agreements reached during the Soviet-Korean summit in May 1984. Two intergovernmental agreements were signed: one on economic and technological cooperation and the other on Soviet economic and technological assistance to the D.P.R.K. in the construction of an atomic power plant. A protocol on the results of the negotiations on the development of trade and economic cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the D.P.R.K. in 1986-90 was signed.

The economic ties between our two countries are of long standing. Tens of industrial installations have been built in the D.P.R.K. with the Soviet Union's assistance. They constitute the backbone of the D.P.R.K.'s power, metallurgical, engineering and other basic industries. Our cooperation in the fields of commercial fishing, agriculture and forestry is making good headway.

Seeking to raise their trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation to a higher plane and to heighten its effectiveness, the Soviet Union and the D.P.R.K. are searching for new forms of economic partnership—equal, mutually beneficial and well-balanced, of course.

Coordination is characteristic of the two countries' foreign policy lines as well. The communiqué summing up the results of the visit says that the two sides have confirmed the identity of their views on the causes of international tension. The Soviet Union and the D.P.R.K. hold that in the face of the growing war danger caused by the policy of aggressive imperialist circles, the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and their close cooperation in the world arena assume special importance. The U.S.S.R., the D.P.R.K. and other socialist countries in Asia cannot stand idly by when military potential is being built up in the immediate vicinity of their borders and militaristic tendencies are becoming ever more strongly manifest in the partnership among the U.S., Japan and South Korea—a partnership which is becoming more and more of a military bloc.

The knocking together of this alliance, as well as the remilitarization of Japan, the American nuclear missile buildup in South Korea, and the aggravation of local conflicts in other parts of Asia lend special urgency to the need for a comprehensive approach to the problems of Asian security. The essence of this approach lies in pooling all the Asian countries' efforts towards peace and stability on the planet's biggest and most densely populated continent.

The socialist countries counter the imperialist policy of confrontation and pressure with the policy of peaceful settlement of outstanding issues. The Soviet side reaffirmed its invariable support for the D.P.R.K.'s initiatives aimed at the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, the peaceful democratic unification of the country, the establishment of a Confederal Democratic Republic Koryo, the replacement of a shaky armistice agreement by a peace treaty, and the holding of an extensive North-South dialogue.

The results of Kang Sung Sang's visit to the Soviet Union show beyond doubt that Soviet-Korean cooperation is on the upgrade.

V. GODYNA

LIBYA

THREATS AGAIN

The situation around the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya became sharply aggravated again late last year. The American and Israeli mass media mounted another propaganda attack on that country, with certain West European NATO members adding their voices to it. A formal pretext for this was furnished by the recent terrorist acts committed in Vienna and Rome airports which caused considerable loss of life. As has happened time and again in similar circumstances it was promptly alleged that Libya was involved in these acts. Although the Libyan government categorically denied having anything to do with either the latest or any other tragic events of this kind, the Western press continued to level groundless accusations at it. But that was not all.

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff are reported to have submitted to the White House a list of proposed actions to be taken in the event of armed force being used against Libya and other countries "helping the terrorists." Direct threats sounded from Tel Aviv as well. On New Year's eve Shimon Peres went so far as to proclaim Libya "the seat of international terrorism" and demanded that international sanctions be applied against it. Similar

demands were put forth by high-ranking American officials.

The current campaign follows a familiar pattern. Its purpose, on the one hand, is to discredit the Libyan Jamahiriya in the eyes of the world public and create something of a "political vacuum" around it and, on the other hand, to justify the escalation of American military-political presence in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East.

Using the levers of political pressure, the U.S. would like to draw its West European NATO allies into the anti-Libyan campaign, urging them to curtail their export to Libya, their trade, economic and other relations with it. On an earlier occasion, Britain severed diplomatic relations with Libya under pressure from Washington, but did not go further than that and refrained from joining the economic blockade of Tripoli. This time the F.R.G., Italy and some other West European states disobeyed Washington, qualifying its policy towards Libya as "ineffectual."

A "top-secret" document prepared by the CIA and other U.S. spy agencies, entitled "Vulnerability Assessment," recently became public knowledge. In a Washington Post article Bob Woodward, the well-known American journalist, said that on the basis of this document President Reagan had endorsed "a secret operation" against Libya designed to remove that country's leader Muammar al-Gaddafi from power. The American "plan" provided for involving the Libyan Jamahiriya in a regional conflict that would create the conditions for the overthrow of the Libyan leadership. At the same time, as the Egyptian Al-Ahram pointed out some time ago, U.S.-Israeli strategy is aimed at securing the possibility of invading the airspace of Arab states with impunity.

What do these "strategic allies" hope to achieve by threatening an Arab state with a population of 3.5 million?

First of all, to aggravate the situation in the Arab region at all costs and thus raise new barriers to a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. It is hardly by chance that the new flare-up of anti-Libyan activity on the part of the United States and Israel has occurred at the time when a settlement in Lebanon is beginning to take shape.

Second, to weaken the anti-imperialist front in the Arab world, to undermine the progressive Tripoli regime which is not to Washington's liking.

It seems that neither the Pentagon generals nor the bosses of the transnational corporations can forget the "golden age" which preceded the September 1, 1969, events in Libya, the time when the oil-rich and strategically-located country was under the control of the imperialist powers. Washington clearly has no love for the present Libyan government's progressive home and foreign policy line, its consistent anti-imperialism, its fight against the vestiges of colonialism and racism in the world, its support for national liberation movements, and the links of friendship and fruitful cooperation the Libyan Jamahiriya maintains with the socialist community countries, the Soviet Union above all.

The so-called "ideological incompatibility" of U.S. and Libyan political views gives American politicians a pathological urge to interfere in Libya's internal affairs. No propaganda stunts can conceal the simple truth that such actions by the U.S. provoke tension and acute conflicts in the region.

Muammar Gaddafi told American newsmen that the U.S. had started a dangerous game in the Mediterranean by concentrating about 40 warships off Libya's shores. This is nothing short of a state of war. The Libyan people, Muammar Gaddafi said, would defend their country by all the means at their disposal.

Today progressive forces the world over who oppose new imperialist intrigues are voicing their solidarity with the people of the Libyan Jamahiriya.

A. VLADIMIRSKY,
V. TURNAYEV

U.S.S.R.—ROMANIA:

COOPERATION STRENGTHENS

Ilie Vaduva, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania and member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, was in the Soviet Union on December 23-27, 1985, on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet government. Eduard Shevardnadze and Ilie Vaduva discussed bilateral relations and international issues in an atmosphere of friendship, sincerity and mutual understanding. The two ministers expressed their satisfaction with the progress made in Soviet-Romanian relations in various fields. They stressed that these relations were based on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of July 7, 1970, and noted the importance of the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Nicolae Ceausescu and of the agreements reached at summit level for the deepening and development of Soviet-Romanian links. The sides reaffirmed their determination to continue to strengthen the allied relations of friendship and all-round cooperation, to broaden their interaction in the political, economic, scientific, cultural and other spheres.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Ilie Vaduva stressed that the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Geneva had created more favourable conditions for improving the overall world situation and returning to détente. The cardinal tasks of today are to end the arms race [the nuclear arms race above all], to go over to disarmament, to do away with nuclear weapons on earth and to prevent the militarization of outer space. The sides voiced their conviction that effective measures for disarmament and for lasting peace could stem only from practical and concrete action to carry out the agreements reached in Geneva.

Ilie Vaduva was received by Nikolai Ryzhkov.

U.S.A.

FOLLOWING THE WHITE HOUSE LINE

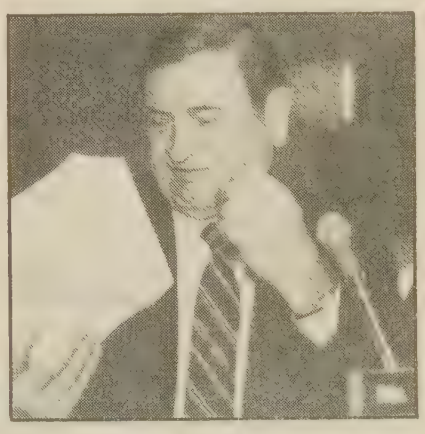
The 99th U.S. Congress ended its first session, the longest in the past five years, before Christmas. But despite the plethora of bills passed and resolutions taken on both domestic and foreign policy, it was seen here as "unproductive."

The basic political outcome is that Congress has been toeing the White House line on crucial issues. No wonder President Ronald Reagan praised the session's "achievements" in a radio broadcast, highlighting bipartisan harmony on Capitol Hill concerning consolidation of national security and support for the world's anti-communist forces. As for matters at home, he singled out the bill on balancing the federal budget and the House approval of the tax reform.

Still, opposition tendencies have become more manifest, especially among the Democrats, who already have their eye on this year's congressional elections. Election tactics also determined the stand of many Republicans when, for instance, they came out openly against the President's' tax reform.

The astronomical budgetary deficit provoked stormy debates. Though on the whole Congress backed the Administration's militaristic policy it nevertheless amended the initial Pentagon budget. Even the Republican-controlled Senate refused to support the 6 per cent increase (in real terms) in military spending in the 1986 fiscal year. Eventually, the defence budget was endorsed at $297.4 billion instead of the asked-for $320 billion, with "inflationary correctives" against the 1985 fiscal year. The Gramm-Rudman bill adopted towards the end of the session envisions, besides cutbacks in social and other nonmilitary spending, a reduction also in military expenditure over the next five years to achieve the "phased" liquidation of the budgetary deficit by 1991. True, when he signed the bill the President "stipulated" that he did not consider the Administration obligated to abide by this "theory," and added that he would take good care of the military budget.

The minor surgery performed on the military budget did not prevent Congress from endorsing all the Pentagon's basic programmes, except for a few cuts, such as quantitative reductions (MX missiles) or the postponement of deadlines for satellite killer weaponry. The sum of $2.75 billion, or nearly double last year's, has been assigned to the SDI "research," though the Administration had asked for $3.7 billion. For the first time since 1969, Congress approved allocations for the manufacture of sophisticated, notably, binary, chemical weaponry.



Though Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, did not quite agree with the tax reform project, the White House nevertheless got the green light for it.
Photo from the U.S. News and World Report

Congress demonstrated its willingness to back—if not encourage—Washington's interference in various parts of the world in order to "contain communism." Indeed, on the "Afghan," "Kampuchean," and "Angolan" issues, it was more Reaganistic than Reagan himself, bluntly advocating an interventionist policy and more "aid" for counterrevolutionary bands.

On the eve of the Geneva summit Congress announced bipartisan backing of the President.

Many Congressmen spoke in favour of normal, and even better relations with the Soviet Union, a search for accords on crucial issues and opposed military moves that would only further obstruct advance towards arms reductions. They also acclaimed the continuation of a top-level dialogue as outlined at Geneva. Dante Fascell, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Senator Edward Kennedy urged Reagan to proceed with the observance of the SALT-2 treaty after 1985 ended. In a collective letter to the President nearly half the Senate exhorted him to resume talks on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear testing. An unprecedented proportion of Senators said they wished to visit the U.S.S.R. to have a clearer idea of how Soviet-American relations were developing. Mikhail Gorbachev's conversations with a group of Representatives headed by Thomas P. O'Neill and a group of Senators headed by Robert C. Byrd were widely commented in U.S. political quarters.

On the other hand, the session broke the record for diversity of anti-Soviet resolutions and amendments, including the reduction of Soviet personnel in the U.S. and new discriminatory trade curbs. Congress remains a major vehicle for anti-Soviet campaigns over the alleged "violation of human rights," for the "defence of Sakharov," and "free Jewish emigration from the U.S.S.R."; it has also energetically spurred the spy mania.

Conflicts between the White House and the "opposition," primarily Democrats were sharpest over domestic issues. The Democratic-controlled House pressed for the retention of various social budgets and was successful in some cases.

As for the balanced budget bill, it may well become the knife Congress has placed in the President's hand, as it gives the Administration the chance to proceed, on the pretext of "combating the deficit," with its dismantling of the system of social programmes established in Franklin Roosevelt's time, a goal which Reagan had announced, along with "America's rearming," as one of the basic objectives of his presidency.

The Congressional session, due to commence on January 20, will not, apparently, be an easy one for the legislators inasmuch as results of the November elections will to some degree depend on how "productive" that session will be.

B. NIKOLAYEV

LATIN AMERICA

NO BOON

Conspicuous among the many joyless figures cited in the recently published tentative annual report of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean is the $106 billion outflow of resources from Latin America in 1985. This is about a third of Latin America's total debt of upwards of $370 billion. Note that as recently as in 1982 the drain of resources did not exceed $30 billion.

On December 16-17 the ministers of foreign affairs, economy and finance of the Cartagena countries conferred in Montevideo. The Cartagena group was set up in June 1984 in the Colombian city of that name to study and discuss the complex problems arising from Latin America's astronomical debts to the West, mainly the U.S.A., and international banks. The group consists of 11 Latin American countries with the heaviest foreign debt burden. The biggest debtors are Brazil ($105 billion), Mexico ($96 billion) and Argentina ($48 billion).

The urgency of the Montevideo meeting, the third since the Cartagena group was formed, stemmed from the drastically increased pressure brought to bear by the Washington-controlled International Monetary Fund. Attention this time was focussed on the Baker Plan, the brainchild of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. Baker has proposed that international private banks grant Latin American debtors a three-year $20 billion loan and that state finance institutions provide another $9 billion.

Is this a boon? Hardly. Under this project the new credits are to be extended on extremely tough terms. Moreover, for the development only of those branches working for export, primarily farming and mining. That this will be most unprofitable for Latin Americans with world prices of raw materials steadily falling (Latin America lost $10 billion in this way last year alone) does not bother Baker and his ilk in the least. Their chief concern is to find a source of currency earning that would ensure repayment of the debts and accruing interest. The vital needs of economic development are completely ignored.

When assessing the Baker Plan the following must also be borne in mind. As we know, over the last few decades economic advancement in Latin America has been accompanied by increasing infiltration of all spheres of economic life by the transnationals. Speculating on Latin America's need of sophisticated technologies, patents and licences for industrial modernization, they set the stage for the large-scale inflow of capital in the form of investments and loans. The accelerated transnationalization of the economy directly spurred the mounting external indebtedness. Taking advantage of the slackened reins of state control over external financing, the Latin American subsidiaries of the transnationals sharply expanded operations involving foreign loans. The Latin Americans let the transnationals in hoping that they would help in building up an industry enabling them to reduce dependence on imports. However, this "help" not only made for more ruthless plunder through the mounting export of profits and the concealed transfer of resources via a system of so-called transfer prices within the context of a drastically increased scale of intra-firm trade. It also led to more import.

The results of the meeting of the Cartagena group in the Uruguayan capital are reflected in what is known as the Document of Montevideo. The eleven Cartagena countries have assessed the Baker Plan as follows: "Initiatives which approach the debt problem only from the standpoint of the cash flow of debtor countries are insufficient." They have put forward an emergency counterprogramme which calls for lower bank rates, less net profits accruing to banks from loans, and more credits.

A. BARYSHEV

LEBANON

IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS PEACE

It is again a time of hopeful expectation in Lebanon. On the eve of the New Year an event occurred which President Amine Gemayel described as a "very important step towards peace" — the signing in Damascus of an agreement drawn up with Syrian mediation by three Lebanese groupings: the Progressive Socialist Party, led by Walid Joumblat, the Amal Shiite movement, headed by Nabih Berry, and the Lebanese Forces, as the principal Right-wing Christian military and political lineup calls itself.

The official text of the agreement has not yet been published, but the press reports that it provides primarily for a cease-fire on the demarcation lines between the conflicting forces, the disarming and disbanding of the militias of the various parties, political and religious organizations and groups, and the restoration of freedom of travel between the Christian and Moslem areas. Besides these top-priority objectives, the agreement envisages the elimination of the root causes of the protracted internal crisis: accord was reached on the gradual abolition of the confessionalist system under which the extent of the participation of the various groups in the administration of the state is determined by their affiliation with one or another religious community, with the Christian minority ensured political, economic and social predominance over the Moslem majority. Now there is to be a more fair distribution of government posts and seats in Parliament among the different religious communities, and the army is to be reorganized on a non-confessional basis.

Much importance is attached by the

signatories to promotion of friendly relations between Lebanon and Syria, which are qualified as being of strategic significance, and the prevention of the use of Lebanese territory by Israel as a springboard against Syria. Provision is made for the stationing of Syrian army units in Lebanon if this should become necessary, and for the participation of Syria in ensuring the capability of the Lebanese army to repulse the Israeli aggressors.

The signing of the agreement has evoked positive comment both in Lebanon and abroad. While noting that this is already the tenth "peace plan," commentators believe it has every chance of being effective. There are also a good many pessimists, who have not forgotten the failure of previous efforts to restore peace and security in Lebanon. As if replying to the latter, the chairman of the executive committee of the Lebanese Forces, Ilieh Hobbeika, stressed at a press conference in Damascus that this is "the first agreement between sides possessing real strength."

Lebanese Prime Minister Rachid Karame, a consistent advocate of national concord, has urged the Lebanese "to turn over a new leaf and embark on the building of a new Lebanon based on stability and unity."

George Hawi, General Secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party, appraised the signing of the trilateral agreement as "a highly important step towards the building of a new Lebanon," but at the same time he warned that the opponents of normalization, primarily Israel, the U.S. and the Arab reactionaries, would do their utmost to prevent its realization.

This warning is extremely timely. For Washington and Tel Aviv are bent on aggravating the internal Lebanese crisis in pursuance of their hegemonistic plans in the Middle East. It is no secret that they are actively using their agents in Lebanon to torpedo the peace efforts of Syria and the Lebanese national-patriotic forces by setting against them the local reactionary extremist groupings. This has been done for many years now in keeping with the one and the same scenario: as soon as efforts to terminate the internal confrontation seem to be on the verge of producing results, provocations are engineered to aggravate the situation, shells begin to explode in both Moslem and Christian areas, and waves of religious intolerance are whipped up.

The signs are that the opponents of peace in Lebanon do not intend to change their tactics. According to reports from Beirut, the Political Bureau of the Right-wing Christian Phalangist Party objects to the fundamental internal political changes envisaged in the agreement.

The extremist forces in the camp opposed to the Right-wing Christian extremists are in effect lining up with the latter in rejecting the Damascus agreement.

Both the Right-wing Christian and the Right-wing Moslem extremists are of course a dangerous factor. However, the absolute majority of the Lebanese people demand the termination of the interference of external forces in the country's affairs which is prolonging the national tragedy. These forces were explicitly named in the above-mentioned statement by George Hawi, who urged that the intrigues of the enemies of the Lebanese people be countered by the strengthening of the unity of the national-patriotic forces and their alliance with neighbouring Syria.

E. KORSHUNOV

PAKISTAN

DICTATORSHIP IN MUFTI

Credit must be given to General Zia ul-Haq for being true to type: whatever he undertakes he as a rule sees through in the best drill-ground style. Take, for instance, the creation of a "new political framework" which he announced on August 12, 1984. Few at the time believed that anything of the kind could be done with the military in the saddle. But today this framework exists not on paper, but in practice. The military are pleased that by all formal tokens the country now has a genuine bourgeois democracy. At the head of the state stands a president and there is a parliament, a government headed by a prime minister, and an independent judiciary.

On December 30, 1985, Zia ul-Haq announced the lifting of martial law which was introduced after the coup eight and a half years ago, as well as the total withdrawal of the army from participation in political life.

The critics of the Zia ul-Haq regime call all this a "democratic façade." And true enough, a glance behind that façade intended for the outside world reveals an altogether different picture. The president has been installed in his post not by means of direct election, but as a result of a curious referendum in which the population was asked to define its attitude to the Islamization of all public life. Practically all political parties are barred from participation in parliamentary elections. The head of government is not entitled independently to decide questions of any importance relating to foreign and domestic policy, and the cabinet is nothing more than an advisory body.

Let us take a closer look at the parliament. Before the lifting of martial law, the eighth amendment to the Constitution was railroaded through it. Under this amendment all presidential edicts and orders issued ever since the establishment of the military administration remain in force, and the most important of these (from the standpoint of the administration) have been incorporated in the Constitution. Not a single decision taken by the military authorities, including sentences passed by the courts-martial, can be challenged. This amounts to total legalization of everything done by the military regime; more, to a guarantee that nothing will change under civilian rule. Gulam Mustafa Jatoi, one of the leaders of the opposition Pakistan People's Party, has qualified this law as the most vicious and shameful legislative act in the history of civilized parliaments.

The political parties which were banned in 1979 represent the force in the country best able to issue a challenge to the regime. Hence it was essential to see to it that even after the lifting of martial law these parties would be prevented from functioning for as long a time as possible. Accordingly, the Pakistani authorities drew up amendments to the Political Parties Act of 1962 which were rubber-stamped last month by the parliamentary majority. Under these amendments parties have to register with the Electoral Commission and to this end submit lists not only of their elected officials, but also of their entire membership, as well as their rules and programmes and detailed reports on their finances. Party leaderships have to undertake the commitment to support the "Pakistan ideology" and not to oppose the "principles of Islam." Com-

menting on the amendments, a member of parliament, H. Saifula, said: "This is a mockery of fundamental democratic rights!" The purpose of the new legislation on parties is obvious: to screen all parties and allow only the most loyal to engage in even a semblance of political activity. The general-cum-president has made it clear that there can be no question of the legal functioning of the Pakistan People's Party, which he removed from power in July 1977 together with its leader Zulfikar Ali-Khan Bhutto.

The aspirations of the Pakistani people, their desire for constitutional freedoms and democracy are associated with the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, which brings together 11 opposition parties. This movement advocates the restoration of the 1973 constitution in its entirety, the holding in conformity with it of a free parliamentary election, and the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. Its leaders have declared that they and the population in general have not been taken in by the lifting of martial law, which is meaningless since all it resulted in was the changing of the title of the chief military administrator to president. They emphasize that so long as one person holds the positions of president and army chief of staff, the lifting of martial law is a sham. The change is purely formal, the substance remaining the same. Influential political parties refuse to recognize the legitimacy of such moves.

P. VASILYEV

MALI—BURKINA FASO

FIGHTING HALTED

Mali and Burkina Faso (formerly known as Upper Volta) signed a cease-fire agreement on December 29 following five days of clashes between their troops. The armed conflict between these two countries—both former French colonies situated in the western part of the African continent—arose from a dispute over several population centres in the frontier area of Agacher. The disputed zone includes a 160-km stretch of the border between the two countries. In the course of the fighting, the provinces of Sikasso (Mali), Djibo, Ouahigouya (Burkina Faso) and others came under air bombardment.

The hostilities between the two African countries evoked grave concern in other states of the continent. There were fears that this local conflict might spread to other parts of Africa. It was primarily to prevent this that Algeria, Nigeria, Libya and Benin exerted efforts to bring about a cease-fire.

This proved to be far from easy: two cease-fire agreements were violated, and only the third one, concluded with the good offices of Nigeria, Libya and a representative from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), put an end to fighting. Under the agreement, the two countries are to withdraw their troops to the positions they occupied before the outbreak of hostilities, and to refrain from actions which might worsen the relations between them. A supervisory commission of representatives from Libya, Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso and the OAU is to be formed.

Despite the cease-fire, the situation on the Mali-Burkina Faso border remains tense because the dispute over the population centres has not been settled, and is not likely to be for a long time. All the attempts to resolve it peacefully, including the application to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, have proved of no avail so far.

The conflict between Mali and Burkina Faso did not arise by chance, of course. In Algeria the situation was described as "a delayed action bomb planted by colonialism." There are quite a few such bombs in Africa. When they divided up the continent in the 19th century, the colonialists drew no clear-cut borders between the lands they had captured. Realizing the danger border disputes are fraught with, the OAU decided to consider the existing borders inviolable. Unless this principle is observed, Africa will become an arena of numerous armed conflicts which will only play into the hands of the Western neocolonialist circles by giving them a pretext for meddling in Africa's affairs. It was hardly by accident that France showed such keen interest in the conflict between Mali and Burkina Faso. This issue became the subject of discussion between Roland Dumas, France's minister of external relations, and Basile Guissou, Burkina Faso's minister of foreign relations and cooperation.

The Right-wing Western press has voiced apprehensions about further developments in this region. What worries these quarters most, however, is that Libya played an important role in reaching the cease-fire agreement and that there are Libyan representatives in the commission formed to supervise its observance. For these actions do not tie up with the U.S. efforts to depict Libya as a destabilizing force in Africa and thus to justify aggressive actions against it.

Speaking in Paris, Guissou called his country's war with Mali "absurd," France-Presse reports. Indeed, the effort and expenditure involved in combat action hardly accord with the vital interests of these two nations which are among the world's poorest and which suffered from severe drought into the bargain. They expect their leaders to alleviate their hardships and to give them enough to eat. The peoples of Mali and Burkina Faso are fraternal peoples, the leaders of both countries maintain. They have common enemies: racism, colonialism and imperialism. Fighting these enemies calls for the consolidation of the African countries' unity.

N. RESHETNYAK

ACCELERATOR OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Soviet-Mongolian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, now forty years old, was concluded in 1946, six months after the end of World War II, and prolonged twenty years later, in 1966. I should like, however, to begin this account of the treaty by going back to the political events of the World War I period—to 1916, to be exact—when European socialists were completing their discussion on the future of the colonial peoples, the Mongolians included. This is all the more important since the enemies of socialism today are shamelessly distorting the character of Soviet-Mongolian relations, the essence of the links and friendship between the people of the U.S.S.R., who number over a quarter of a billion, and the nearly two million Mongolian people. Active in this slanderous campaign are the dubious Western "authorities on Mongolia," the malicious "Sovietologists," bourgeois "experts" on the problems of the communist movement in Asia, and diverse Orientalists who tried to provide a theoretical substantiation for the "greater East Asian co-prosperity sphere" concept before the war and who are now trying as zealously to prove the existence of a "sphere of the United States' vital interests" in Asia.

"As Soon As We Capture Power"

Criticizing the erroneous views of certain participants in the discussion on the national self-determination issue, Lenin, the leader of the then persecuted Bolshevik Party, explained how internationalism was to be inculcated in the workers of the big (oppressing) and small (oppressed) nations so as to "facilitate the democratic association of nations."

Lenin cited instances from the lives of big and small nations in support of his internationalist line. In particular, he repeatedly turned to the difficult life of the Mongolians. A year before the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin pledged support for that nation which was practically on the verge of extinction. As soon as we capture power, he wrote, "we will help them pass to the use of machinery, to the lightening of labour, to democracy, to socialism." In October 1921—four years after the revolution—Lenin, now the leader of Russia's ruling party and the head of the Soviet state, and Sukhe Bator, the leader of the Mongolian revolution, discussed in detail the principles of full equality on which the relations between the two countries were to be based. These principles have passed the test of time and borne rich fruit.

The 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance is being observed at the junction between Mongolia's two five-

WHEN REBIRTH BEGAN

A traveller who happened to visit Albania before World War II found himself in what was the economically least developed country in Europe, the only European state that had neither an industry nor railways of its own. Practically all the minerals it extracted used to go abroad. It was only after the liberation of Albania, the overthrow of the monarchy and the proclamation of a people's republic on January 11, 1946, that the revival of the country began.

Radical socio-economic reforms were carried out in the early years of people's government: a land reform put an end to big private landownership and to feudal relations in the countryside, all production facilities were nationalized, and a state monopoly of foreign trade was introduced.

Cooperation with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries (including that within the framework of the CMEA) helped the young republic to take the first—the most difficult—steps towards the socialist transformation of society. On the eve of Albania's national holiday **Natalya Bessonova**, a New Times correspondent, asked some of the Soviet people who had worked in Albania in those years to share their reminiscences.

ALEXEI SYOMIN, A CAMERAMAN:

In the early fifties a group of Soviet film makers started shooting a number of documentaries at the Albanian government's request. At that time the country was busy fulfilling its first five-year plan, and we sought to convey the rapidly changing look of the republic.

We filmed the biggest construction projects of the time: the textile mill in the Albanian capital, the sugar refinery in Korça, the woodworking mill in Elbasan, the hydroelectric power station near Tirana, and many other installations then being built in Albania with the assistance of the Soviet Union.

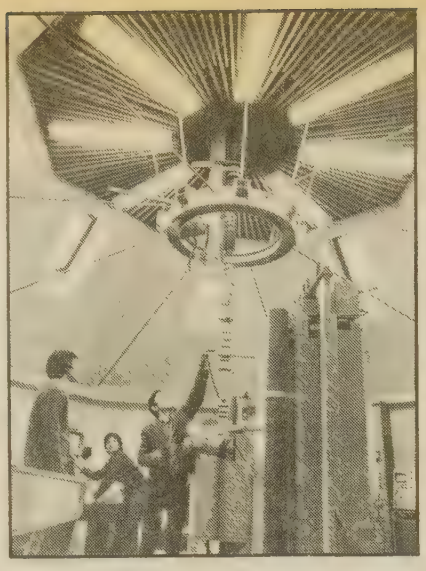
We made the first documentaries together with young Albanian film makers—graduates of Moscow's Cinematography Institute who underwent practical training at the Central Documentary Film Studio. As a man of the cinema, I took particular pride in the fact that one of the new construction jobs was the New Albania film studio built to a Soviet design and with Soviet assistance. The studio made the first films in Albania's history. Incidentally, our joint effort, entitled "Albania," was its first documentary.

By 1960 Albania was largely self-sufficient in staple foods, cotton fabrics and petroleum products. Its output of electric power, sawn timber and cement had increased.

Before the war British and Italian firms had extracted up to 100,000 tons of oil there which was exported from the country in crude form. After the liberation of Albania, Soviet experts helped find new deposits. The U.S.S.R. supplied the necessary equipment, and already by the year 1959 Albania's oil output grew to 500,000 tons a year. Albania built an oil-refining industry of its own which brought with it new branches of the economy: synthetic materials, mineral fertilizers, dyes and gas industries.

IVAN TOLSTYKH, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR AT THE GUBKIN INSTITUTE

year-plan periods—the seventh, now nearing completion, and the upcoming eighth. Although the full statistics are still to come, it may already be safely asserted that the country has much to show for its efforts of the past five years. Its economy has changed radically. The country now produces as much every 25 minutes as it did throughout 1924. Over the past 25 years Mongolia's population has doubled, yet real per capita incomes have quadrupled. In the same period electric power output has grown nearly 17-fold; coal output, more than eightfold; scoured wool output, 2.2 times; woollen fabrics, 4.2 times; flour, almost sixfold; and meat, five times. The latter two indices merit special attention. Hereditary nomad cattlemen for centuries, Mongolians now gather in more than 400 kilogrammes of grain per capita while increasing cattle productivity at the same time. A people once promised help in passing to the use of machinery today harvests the entire grain crop and makes about 80 per cent of the hay using modern farm machines and implements. Efficient machinery has also come to the aid of the growing working class—in open-cast collieries, thermal power stations, cement mills and on construction sites. Wool-combing factories, tanneries and other plants processing agricultural raw materials also have the latest equipment. All this has changed the image of Mongolia on the international market as well. Over the past five years the country's foreign trade turnover has grown 98 per cent, with manufactured goods accounting for about 80 per cent of its export earnings.



At the Orbita station built with the Soviet Union's technical assistance.

TASS photo

Stars on the Map

The central party paper Ünen has aptly described Soviet-Mongolian relations as revolutionary and creative, as an accelerator of social progress. They have indeed enriched socialist internationalism with new content.

"In our city socialist internationalism is a very tangible reality," I was told in the Darkhan City Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. "Darkhan was founded on October 17, 1961, following a thorough preliminary survey carried out at the Mongolian government's request by Soviet geologists and experts from the G.D.R."

Now, almost a quarter of a century later, it is obvious to all that no better location could have been chosen for the city. Darkhan's housing developments and industrial districts stretch along a motor road and a railway next to places where rich mineral resources have been discovered. The Sharyn-Gol open-cast mine already produces over two million tons of brown coal a year. Darkhan's environs are also rich in phosphorites and iron ores. There are plans for building Mongolia's first integrated iron-and-steel plant there. The city is to become a major producer of chemicals and fertilizers for the rising agriculture.

Darkhan consists of three parts: an old settlement with the traditional felt nomad tents; a new town with modern blocks of flats, wide streets, a theatre and a hotel; and, some distance away, set amidst greenery, an industrial area dominated by a thermoelectric plant which burns brown coal from the neighbouring deposit. Its four generating sets produce both electric energy and heat. The thermoelectric plant tops the list of the industrial installations built in Darkhan with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union. My hosts had high praise for the well-mechanized open-cast colliery and the integrated house-building factory which produces 70,000 square metres of housing a year. They told me that the factory's output goes not only to Darkhan but to other parts of Mongolia as well. The country's biggest flour mill has been built with Soviet assistance. The output of the local expanded clay aggregate factory is most popular: orders for it come in from practically all the industrial centres of the country.

Nearly 600 economic complexes, now about as old as Darkhan, have been built in various parts of the country with the help of the Soviet Union, 150 of them being industrial plants. Darkhan

---

OF THE PETROCHEMICAL AND GAS INDUSTRY OF MOSCOW:

My acquaintance with Albania began in my student years when I associated with young Albanians who studied at our institute. By the time I went to Tirana to lecture at the University there, many of them had become the managers of Albania's young oil industry.

Besides lecturing, I conducted a practical training course for would-be Albanian oilmen and helped them with their diploma projects. Soviet equipment was widely used in the Albanian oil industry at that time. Thanks to the use of Soviet turbodrills, oil wells were sunk twice as fast in the early 1960s as compared with the previous five-year period.

The construction of cultural centres proceeded apace. By 1960 Albania had tens of libraries, published ten papers and 22 magazines and bulletins.

YURI ZHDANOV, PEOPLE'S ARTIST OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION:

The first group of Soviet actors visited Albania as early as the end of 1949. Our guest tour was timed to coincide with the anniversary of Albania's liberation and its proclamation as a people's republic. We toured various Albanian cities for two months performing some of the finest specimens of Soviet theatrical art. Our country helped Albania not only build industrial installations but to create a new, socialist culture as well. The first productions were staged at the capital's Opera and Ballet Theatre with the help of Soviet directors, choreographers and stage designers. The Lunacharsky Theatrical Institute, where I now teach, and the Moscow School of Choreography had young Albanians among their students at that time.

Those were the young republic's formative years, the years of its awakening. The courageous Albanian people who had upheld their independence applied themselves to the building of a new life. A new, socialist economy and a new, socialist culture were taking shape. We shall always retain in our hearts the joy and satisfaction of working for a common cause, the memories of the years when our two countries united by the great force of proletarian internationalism scaled what seemed to be unattainable heights in fraternal cooperation. ■

itself is just one of the bright stars dotting the map of our cooperation which embraces literally all spheres of life. Many new stars will appear on this map after the Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic, up to the year 2000, has been carried out.

"While giving the past achievements their due," Mikhail Gorbachev said during his meeting with the Mongolian leader Jambyn Batmönh in Moscow last summer, "we are now concentrating on heightening the efficacy of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in the political, economic, social, cultural and other fields."

Breaching the Wall of Discrimination

The 1946 treaty was signed at a time when the winds of the cold war were blowing from the West. The latter ignored not only the treaty but Mongolia itself. It seemed to forget that at the Soviet Union's insistence the great powers pledged themselves at the Yalta Conference to preserve the status quo of that Asian country.

The nation which had made a no small contribution to the anti-nazi struggle and to the rout of militarist Japan could not understand why it was denied a seat in the United Nations. Contrary to common sense and justice, the discriminatory policy pursued by the Anglo-American majority in the world community's headquarters blocked the Mongolian representatives' access to the newly established international organization. This issue was discussed for as long as 15 years. However, the reactionary majority dwindled from year to year, more and more Afro-Asian nations joined the United Nations, the influence of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries kept growing. The U.S.S.R. made use of every opportunity to press for Mongolia's admission to the United Nations. In 1961, the wall of discrimination was breached, and the M.P.R. was admitted to the U.N. The active process of Mongolia's recognition by most capitalist countries began. Meeting Mongolian delegates in the U.N. lobbies today, representatives of the imperialist circles would doubtless prefer to forget their past obstructionism. Today they are obliged to reckon with the extensive and fruitful diplomatic activity of the M.P.R. It was on Mongolia's initiative that the 39th U.N. General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace which provided the political and legal basis for the struggle to safeguard world peace. Mongolia's proposal to work out and sign a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations between Asian and Pacific countries came in for extensive international comment. This proposal is of special importance today when imperialism is stepping up its militarist activity in Asia and the Pacific. Today the U.S. keeps its second biggest overseas armed force in the Far East.

"We are of the opinion," Batmönh said, commenting on the far-reaching Soviet security concept for Asia, "that this proposal provides for a joint search for ways to guarantee all-Asian security through the combined efforts of all Asian states, big and small, taking due account of the experience of the Asian countries themselves and the states on other continents exemplified by Bandung and Helsinki."

The treaty signed in 1946 has contributed substantially to this experience. It promotes, in spirit and letter, Soviet-Mongolian brotherhood and the authority of the world socialist community.

B. PISHCHIK

GENEVA SUMMIT—A LATIN AMERICAN VIEW

New Times correspondent **Oleg Valentinov** met the prominent Argentine economist JAIME FUCHS and asked him what he thought of the recent Soviet-American summit in Geneva and how it had been received in Argentina.

"The meeting between the CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S. President Ronald Reagan was awaited impatiently by the whole world, by all progressive mankind," Señor Fuchs said.

"Argentine political and trade union leaders of diverse trends—radical, Peronist, Socialist and, primarily, Communist—welcomed with enthusiasm the beginning of a dialogue in the hope that a way was being opened for the realization of the Soviet proposals on ending the arms race on Earth and preventing the militarization of outer space. Of course, the results of the Geneva meeting can be fully assessed only after the lapse of some time and, what is most important, on the strength of practical deeds. At a time when the very existence of mankind is threatened the Soviet proposals once again demonstrate the historic role that country is playing in the fight for peace, against war, for life, against annihilation, for the strengthening of good-neighbourly, mutually beneficial relations between peoples, for science and technology to be used for the good of man and not against him.

"Termination of the arms race is of the utmost importance for the future of the peoples of our continent. U.S. imperialism has long been using Latin America and the Caribbean to intensify the arms race, to impose military regimes on the peoples of the region, and to persecute political opponents. The U.S. hawks take advantage of the existing international tension to aggravate the notorious "conflict" between West and East, resorting to lies, deception and slander. That policy has always been a screen for expansion in the south of the American continent as well.

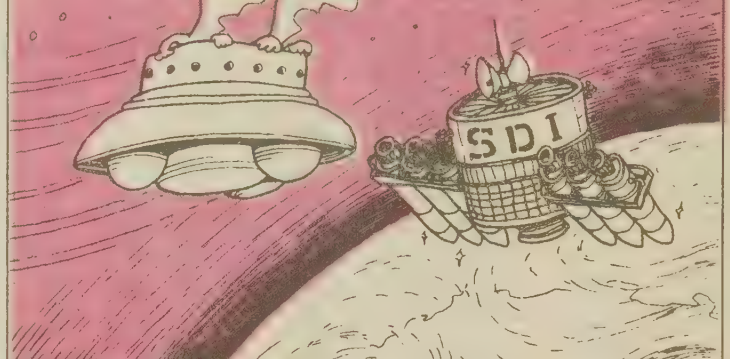
"In the struggle against this colonialist policy a salutary role is played by the peoples of socialist Cuba and revolutionary Nicaragua.

"We believe that the Geneva meeting will promote the development of the Latin American peoples' fight for peace. That fight is, of course, already being waged, but it will be given a new impulse. The struggle against the war danger today directly affects the life of the peoples.

"A large part of the money spent on the arms buildup, stepped up by the U.S., is paid not only by the American people themselves but by the Latin American peoples as well. The countries of Central and South America have been burdened with enormous foreign indebtedness amounting today to more than $370 billion. Far from helping to solve the acute socio-economic problems, the foreign credits granted mainly in the past ten years have, on the contrary, increased the dependence of Latin America on the transnational corporations, the International Monetary Fund and U.S. finance capital.

"The Latin American countries' interest payments alone amounted to $37 billion in 1984. Part of the money goes to finance the U.S. arms buildup and the Pentagon's 'star wars' programme. Therefore we are directly interested in the termination of the arms race and, as Fidel Castro has pointed out, in the funds thus released being used for the benefit of the peoples and not for death and destruction." ■

"MADE IN JAPAN"



For the first time in relations between the U.S.A. and Japan goods with the "Made in Japan" label have been welcomed with open arms. That is, by the Pentagon, not the rank-and-file consumer. Indeed, the bitter competition between the corporations of the two countries has been shelved, with neither Congress nor businessmen waxing indignant over such "Japanese economic expansionism." On the contrary, there are satisfied smiles on both sides of the Pacific.

The reference is to the agreement signed recently in Tokyo to transfer military technology to the Pentagon, an agreement that has demolished yet one more hurdle erected after the war to prevent the resurgence of militarism in Japan. "While in office," Asahi observes, "Nakasone has violated virtually all political taboos." Now the law prohibiting the export of arms and military technology has been jettisoned.

First, homing devices for anti-aircraft missiles are to be shipped across the ocean. Next on the list are laser and optical devices which, the experts say, the Pentagon desperately needs for the development of space weaponry.

After observing the Self-Defence Forces during joint U.S.-Japanese war games Brigadier General John Sherman Pepper, a veteran of the dirty war in Vietnam, declared that he would have no objections to fighting alongside the Japanese any time. U.S. hawks want to fight alongside the Japanese not only on land and sea, but also in outer space. The research institutes of Japan's Defence Agency are now to contribute to "star wars."

Asahi's cartoonist depicts what might eventuate from such zeal. Extraterrestrials, perched on a flying saucer, staring amazedly at a combat spaceship representing Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, and saying: "Just look, this funny planet is firing missiles at itself."

Will the Japanese feel more sure of themselves beneath the Damocles' sword of space missiles even if they bear the "Made in Japan" label, we wonder?

M. LEONIDOV

THOSE WHO PAY THE PIPER...

For some time now the Flick affair has ceased to be front-page news in the F.R.G. although the trial continues in Bonn. The news media are currently highlighting Flick's decision to sell the "family firm" to the country's biggest private bank, the Deutsche Bank.

Meanwhile the trial has produced another sensation. Thus, we learn that Flick financed not only politicians but even the Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND), the Federal Intelligence Service, as Eberhard von Brauchitsch, one of the men in the dock, has admitted. He revealed that in the late 1970s Flick and nine other major F.R.G. concerns allocated 500,000 marks to the BND supposedly to "fight terrorism." The revelation has been officially confirmed by the government and even came up for consideration in the Bundestag.

However, after the parliamentary rebuke it transpired that the BND had received much more than the sum mentioned. Thus, F.R.G. Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann admitted that in 1983 the BND again received money from "private capital" (how much he did not specify). It turns out that not only political parties and their ministers received millions in Big Business donations, but even some government agencies have been bought up by the millionaires.

A. KOSENKO

DEMOCRAC COMPLETE

Spokesmen for the government would have believe that there is n single person in the co jailed on political groun

Let us assume that this However, it is not be freedom has suddenly somed in Haiti. Simpl who dare to oppose the valier family dictatorship murdered—during a der ration, say, from ambus in dungeons from which ical prisoners never retu

A few recent dispatch

"During anti-governn demonstrations in Po Prince and other Haitian tens of people were kill the 'guardians of law order';

"Four Haitian youths slain in Gonaïves;

WHAT WAS

To begin with, a quote publicans] think slavery wrong which some men prohibited by law." The said, but deadly poison founded on the equality

Now, the following p fested huts whose rottec ment weather. At sunrise fields. They return late and the scraps they eat. undermine their health. of going back to Mexic the country by a crime held. Indeed, protest w danger of being hauled They are slaves.

More than a century great American, Abraha in California today as bune. The Republicans clock of history would se ica's slave-owning past. Nasim Mussry ended in smuggled in workers, o Californian justice was present-day peonage. H a five-year suspended p

Mussry and Co., how similar crime syndicates in the U.S.A. today is n reds of thousands beco

"Opposition party leader
ionel Joseph Lainé has been
not by the Haitian secret
olice."

The U.S. Administration is
vidently quite satisfied with
is "solution" of the human
ghts problem in Haiti. Thus,
hen Baby Doc's butchers
lled a priest who dared to
ensure the despotism of the
ife presidents," New York's
olice were ordered to dis-
erse the demonstration held
ere in protest. Moreover,
liott Abrams, Assistant U.S.
ecretary of State for Inter-
merican Affairs, said recent-
that Haiti's present regime
as less repressive than the
evious one.

True enough, there was a
ne when Papa Doc prom-
ed a Himalayan heap of
e corpses of the opponents
his regime. Thus far his off-
ring has not achieved such
ights, though he is fast get-
g there.

V. CHIRKOV

"CODE OF CONDUCT"

A so-called Code of Conduct for the Royal Ulster Constabulary is soon to enter into force, it has been announced in Belfast.

What does this code imply? For some reason the newspapers do not specify, preferring merely to comment that now with its entry into force the situation in Northern Ireland will change for the better. Henceforth, says the Financial Times, the Constabulary will be represented on all army patrols, including those of the Ulster Defence Regiment, whose duties are to guarantee "security and law and order" in Northern Ireland's cities and towns. Which is supposed to make for better "relations between the security forces and the minority community."

The question of relations is indeed acute, especially if they are being "normalized" by the punitive squads of the Ulster Defence Regiment. This powerful armed fist of the Protestant extremists terrorizes the local Catholics. Some 100 of these extremists have been tried for assaulting peaceful citizens and another 14 have been convicted for murder. But how many crimes remain "unsolved"?

Now, inspired by the Code of Conduct, the "guardians of law and order" will go on patrol together with the men of the Ulster Defence Regiment. Will this improve relations? After all, the Ulster Constabulary is also notorious for its strong-arm methods of "establishing law and order." It specializes in third-degree grilling and the still operative "emergency" laws entitle it to imprison virtually anyone on suspicion alone.

Y. KARAULOV

"TYPICAL INTERVENTIONIST CORPS"

U.S Army Secretary John Marsh made what for him was a world-shaking historico-geographical discovery when, on a recent visit to Brazil, he found to his amazement that its capital is Brasilia, not Washington, as he had assumed. That Brasilia was the city where the Brazilian government took the decisions it considered necessary and has, for some time now, rejected directives from Washington. It depressed Marsh to learn that Brazil and Cuba would possibly restore diplomatic relations soon. He was quite shocked to find that the lists of socialist countries' embassy staffs in Brazil had not been endorsed by the CIA.

But the final blow, judging by what the Brazilian newspaper Folha de São Paulo says, was the Brazilian government's flat refusal to join the continent's "peacekeeping force" set up by the Inter-American Defence Board. Which, the paper notes, is a "committee of generals," based in Washington.

Ever since the 1960s, the U.S.A. has been futilely attempting to have this body integrated in the Organization of American States to enable it to share with the various Latin American countries much of the responsibility for various acts of armed intervention. As, for instance, the 1965 aggression against the Dominican Republic. At that time Brazil, ruled by a junta of generals, enjoyed the dubious honour of contributing to that "highminded" operation. However, present-day Brazil prefers to avoid such a "distinguished" role. Leonidas Pires Gonçalves, its Minister for Ground Forces, said Brazil would send troops abroad only when asked to do so by the international bodies of which it is a member. Implied are the U.N. and the OAS with whom the Washington-based "generals' committee" has no relation whatsoever. "What is meant," Brazilian Admiral Mario Cesar Flores declared, "is not a 'peacekeeping force' but a typical interventionist corps."

V. KHROMOV

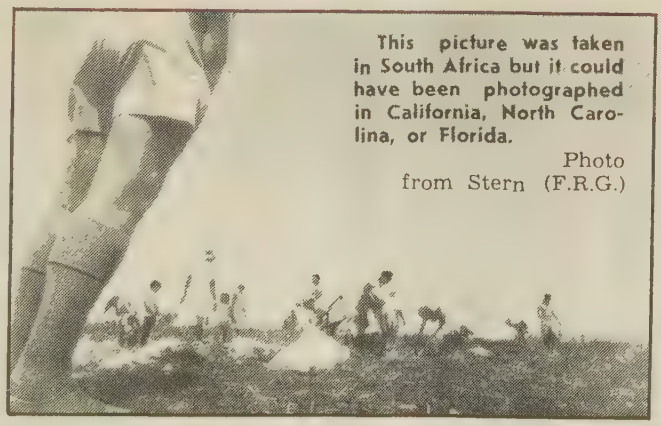
NCOLN SAID?

braham Lincoln: "They [Re-
and that, like every other
if left alone, it ought to be
ot only a moral wrong, he
government which is to be

e families huddle in rat-in-
d no protection from incle-
er drives them out into the
ll they earn goes for rent
ng toil, hunger and disease
a glimmer of hope either
n they were smuggled into
r of seeing their rights up-
an harsh reprisal and the
ourt as illegal immigrants.

r stand between what that
aid and this picture of life
the U.S. newspaper Tri-
t the helm. However, the
been turned back to Amer-
the trial of the millionaire
s. For years this man had
es, from distant Indonesia.
sh towards this "father" of
with a $33,000 fine and
e.

nly one of the dozens of
o Time magazine, slavery
re, it is flourishing. Hund-
ring harvest season. Their



This picture was taken in South Africa but it could have been photographed in California, North Carolina, or Florida.

Photo from Stern (F.R.G.)

backbreaking toil under the threat of being turned over to the authorities spells fat profits for today's planters, who prey on people from the Third World hoping to find in the U.S.A. the jobs they cannot find at home.

Under the current Administration the position has worsened. The slave traffic is acquiring ever growing proportions. Indeed, the authorities themselves seek to profit by hiring out prisoners to various firms, as is done in Minnesota, for instance. The Administration, Newsday says, is actually encouraging slave labour. In the light of all this the halving of the number of federal employees who monitor observance of laws forbidding slavery seems only logical.

So what was it Abraham Lincoln said about slavery, the Republicans, and the equality of men?

V. KSENIN

"EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE"

U.S. archive documents reveal that

- **in 1943 American generals were considering a compact with the nazi aggressor against the Soviet Union,**
- **betrayal was being planned,**
- **President Roosevelt remained faithful to the concept of an anti-Hitler coalition,**
- **the present American positions-of-strength policy has its roots in the anti-communist plans and illusions of the past.**

Can the Soviet Union and the United States cooperate? Is their confrontation preordained or can they coexist as two social systems? These questions are very much in order today, after Geneva. Soviet foreign policy long ago gave a positive answer. The American position is more complicated. It is still burdened by the "crusade" ideology, a striving to dictate terms to others, unwillingness to discard deep-seated prejudices and illusions.

To perceive the sources of these prejudices it is in place to look back at the not very distant past, specifically—paradoxical though it may seem—at the time of World War II, when the Soviet Union and the United States were allies. In that crucial period in human history on one side of the front was the nazi imperialism and on the other were countries with different social systems. The future of all humanity depended on effective cooperation among the members of the anti-Hitler coalition. However, long-standing anti-communist sentiment, which hindered normal relations with the Soviet Union, even though its fighting men were shedding their blood in the common cause, made itself felt among the Western members of the coalition. In these circumstances, as if anticipating the present time, the question was often asked: "Can the Soviet Union and America cooperate?" Archive documents with a bearing on this question are examined below by New Times political analyst Lev BEZYMENSKY.

"Strategy and Policy: Can America and Russia Cooperate?"—this is the title of a memorandum drawn up in August 1943 by the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of today's Central Intelligence Agency. The document was marked **"Secret," "Excluded from general declassification schedule,"** and **"Group 3. Downgraded at 12 year intervals. Not automatically declassified."**

The classification was understandable. The memorandum had been drawn up by the OSS under the supervision of its Director General William J. Donovan as a Joint Chiefs of Staff document, as is evidenced by an inscription in the general's handwriting. On top was written "Memorandum 121," also in Donovan's hand. In other words, the document had been approved by the U.S. top military authorities and submitted for the consideration of the military leaders of the U.S. and Britain. It was not declassified until 1978.

Why did the U.S. top brass concern itself with this seemingly purely theoretical question as far back as 1943?

Let us recall what happened in August of that year. The echoes of Stalingrad were still reverberating worldwide. The Battle of Kursk was nearing the end. On August 6 President Roosevelt congratulated the Soviet forces which "by their skill, their courage, their sacrifices and their ceaseless effort, not only stopped the long-planned German attack, but have launched a successful offensive of far-reaching import." But the Soviet Union was fighting singlehanded on the main theatre of hostilities, for neither in 1942 nor in 1943 had the second front promised by the allies been opened.

It was against this background that Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill met in Quebec, Canada, in August 1943. With them were the entire military leadership of both countries as well as their top intelligence officers. Some highly important decisions had to be taken, for it was clear even to those who did their utmost to delay the opening of the second front that if this was not done the Soviet Union would defeat Hitler by itself.

The opening of the second front was not just a military problem. It was not only a matter of deciding whether to invade the continent or not, but of the principles governing the relations between the allied states, the foundations of the future peace. When the prominent U.S. businessman Donald Nelson, Chairman of the War Production Board, visited Moscow in 1943 he told Joseph Stalin that as a representative of the business world he foresaw a big future for friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. He believed that there were many ways in which the two countries could help each other.

The record of the talk reads:

"**Stalin** replies that this is correct.

"**Nelson** says that the interests of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. do not conflict.

While the U.S. generals were busy planning, the Soviet army men were fighting and dying for the common victory.

"Stalin says the interests of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. do not and should not conflict. Nor will they conflict if certain groups in the United States do not give cause for that."

Nelson was to recall later that on returning home he reported "the whole conversation in the Kremlin" to Roosevelt. The President shared his opinion as to the "necessity of building solid foundations for Russo-American friendship." Recalling this during the cold-war years, Nelson wrote:

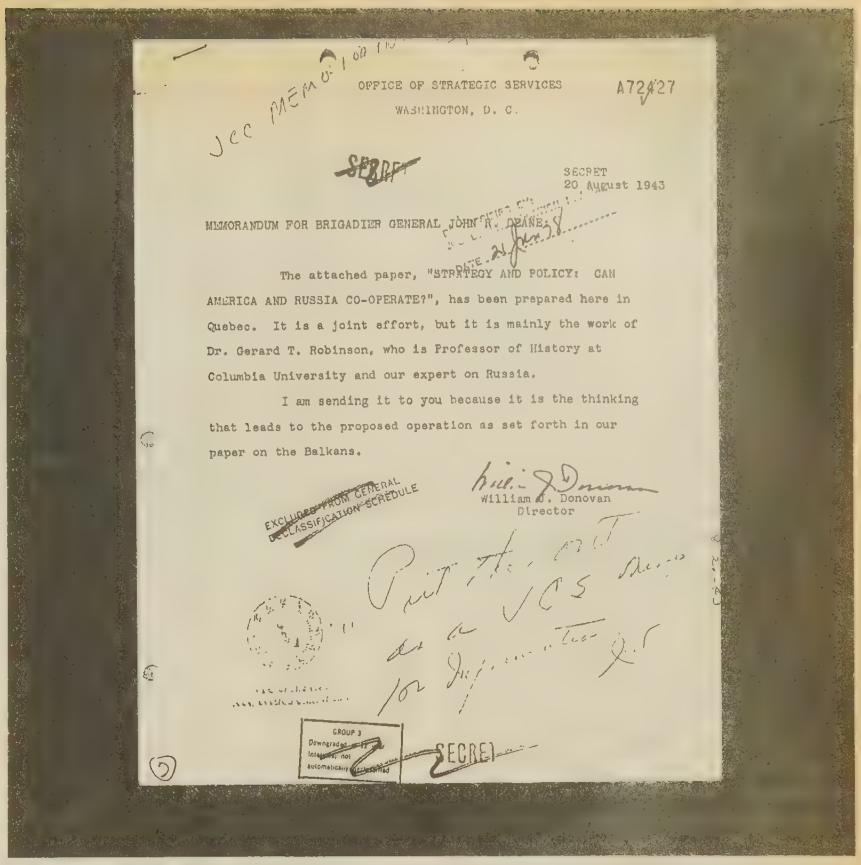
> "Nothing could be more catastrophic than a conflict between the only two great powers which had never fought each other." He was convinced, he said, "that the destiny of the human race itself depended upon a continuation of the friendship and cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States. The differences in our political systems provide no rational cause for unfriendliness. We have no desire to change your system; we do not believe that you want to change ours. There is no reason why we cannot live together amicably, do business together and act cooperatively towards a world society where war will be an absolute, rather than a hypothetical impossibility."

But not everyone in the United States thought as Donald Nelson did.

The Donovan Alternatives

Memorandum 121 begins with an exposition of the principles underlying U.S. strategy in the war. The authors are nothing if not frank. The first section, headed **"Strategy and Policy Inseparable,"** sets forth these theses:

> "Strategy is literally inseparable from policy. Whether or not strategy is consciously guided towards the achievement of specific war aims, strategy does in fact determine to a very considerable extent the war aims that can and will actually be achieved.
>
> "This is particularly true in the present war, where there is a serious lack of unanimity among the prospective European victors—the United States, Britain and Soviet Russia. The future of Europe will be affected profoundly, **and perhaps decisively,** by the strength and the geographic disposition of the armed forces at the cessation of formal hostilities against Germany.
>
> "The present crisis in the relations of the United States and Great Britain with Soviet Russia calls most urgently for a reexamination and definition of the strategy and policy that will give shape to the postwar settlement."



OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

A72427

SECRET
20 August 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN R. DEANE:

The attached paper, "STRATEGY AND POLICY: CAN AMERICA AND RUSSIA CO-OPERATE?", has been prepared here in Quebec. It is a joint effort, but it is mainly the work of Dr. Gerard T. Robinson, who is Professor of History at Columbia University and our expert on Russia.

I am sending it to you because it is the thinking that leads to the proposed operation as set forth in our paper on the Balkans.

William J. Donovan
Director

EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE

GROUP 3
Downgraded at intervals; not automatically declassified

SECRET

Donovan's accompanying letter to the Memorandum of August 20, 1943.

The authors of the Memorandum had indeed good reason to see a crisis in relations with the Soviet Union. For the U.S. and Britain had just informed the Soviet leadership that their promise to open the second front would again not be met. This, however, did not prevent the generals from visualizing the war won (at the cost of our blood!) and from discoursing with Olympian detachment about the future peace.

It is indicative that in the summer of 1943, when the Soviet people were still faced with the formidable task of driving the enemy out of their native land and defeating the nazi aggressor, Washington (today we would say, the Pentagon) was already hastening to decide the future of Europe. The second section of the Memorandum reads:

> "1. The major American aim is the security of the United States.
>
> "2. The first requisite for American security is the defeat of the German attempt to unite, dominate, and direct the strength of Europe.
>
> "3. The second requisite is that after the defeat of Germany, no single power, and no group of powers in which we do not have a strong influence, shall direct the strength of Europe.
>
> "4. The final aim is the fostering in Europe of certain other conditions that will make for peace, freedom and prosperity—for the benefit not only of Europe but of ourselves."

We shall not carp at the fact that the defeat of Hitlerism was not included among the U.S. war aims or that the last point is deliberately vaguely worded. But the main thing that was made clear was that the postwar balance of strength had to be such as would ensure the United States primacy in Europe. True, as is further elucidated, for the achievement of this objective the United States needed allies and "the building of workable alliances." What sort of allies? The authors of the Memorandum considered the possibilities. Preference was given to Britain. But alliance with Britain "is inadequate to the achievement of our major aims in Europe." And so, other allies had to be sought:

> "Another element to be considered, in any estimate of capabilities, is transportation. From the proposed West European Front to Central Germany the distance is shorter and the transport facilities are better than from Western Russia to Central Germany. Again, the Western Allies have a marked superiority over Russia in the air."

The wording itself gives food for thought. The word "superiority" in this context could apply to an enemy, but certainly not to an ally in war. Equally dubious is the "geopolitical approach" to distances. Proceeding from this, the authors of the Memorandum go on to say:

> "On the continent the strength of the United States, Great Britain and their satellites will continue to be substantially less than that of either of the two great continental powers—Russia or an undefeated Germany."

Here the aggressor and his victim, the enemy of the United States and its ally, are placed on the same plane unambiguously and, frankly speaking, cynically and offensively. This brings to mind Harry S. Truman's notorious June 1941 remark that if Russia were to win Germany would have to be helped. In 1941 Truman was by no means the only one to hold this view. And in 1943 it cropped up again in the Memorandum in question which offered the following political "alternatives" for consideration by the U.S. top leadership:

> "In view of the disproportion between our aims and our capabilities, three alternative lines of strategy and policy have been suggested vis-à-vis Germany and Russia:
>
> "1. That an attempt be initiated immediately to compromise our differences with the Soviet Union and to build upon such interests as we have in common with that power.
> "2. That America and Britain continue to follow, for some time to come, a strategy and policy very largely independent of that of the Soviet Union, in the hope of achieving in this way both the defeat of Germany and an improved bargaining position for a somewhat hostile settlement with Russia.
>
> "3. That we attempt to turn against Russia the full power of an undefeated Germany, still ruled by the nazis or the generals."

Against Russia, mark you!

Against Russia!

The outrageousness and futility of the third alternative are obvious to all today. But at that time the authors of the Memorandum dispassionately weighed its pros and cons. For one thing, they expected that by the summer of 1944 shortage of food and manpower would probably significantly reduce the Soviet Union's military capability. On the strength of this assumption the U.S. generals and likeminded politicians allowed themselves to "think the unthinkable":

> "There appears to be only one way in which the Soviet Union could be defeated by sheer force, and that is by our turning against her the full strength of a Germany still strong (and that means a Germany ruled by the nazis or the generals). This would probably result in the conquest of the Soviet Union by the same powerful and aggressive Germany that declared war against Russia, and against us, in 1941. But in order to prevent the subsequent domination of all the strength of Europe by Germany, we, together with Great Britain, should be obliged, after the German conquest of Russia, to undertake once more, and without Russia's help, the difficult and perhaps then impossible task of defeating Germany."

An interesting admission indeed. It appears that even die-hard enemies of our country clearly realized that without the U.S.S.R. they could not cope with a powerful and aggressive Germany. But this did not deter them from weighing the pluses and minuses of giving Germany a free hand to conquer the Soviet Union. The conclusion they arrived at was this:

> "Even if this were feasible, in statistical terms of manpower and materiel, the double shift of policy involved would probably be quite unworkable in terms of American and British politics and morals. In the United States, and still more in Britain, with public opinion now strongly mobilized against Germany (and mobilized to a much more limited extent in favour of Russia), it would probably be impossible to demobilize opinion for the duration of a German conquest of Russia (or at least until the conquest was well advanced) and then to mobilize it once more for a successful war of our own against Germany."

It might be asked: what objections could there be to this? For, hypocritical though their talk about morals is, the authors of the Memorandum do conclude, albeit reluctantly, that Germany's victory would not be to the advantage of the United States. But things are not as innocent as might seem at first glance.

First. It should be borne in mind that this was in 1943. In June 1941 Truman had still been at liberty to discourse on which side the U.S. should join in the war. But in 1943 the United States was bound by definite commitments, including allied commitments to the Soviet Union. It had made its choice, and that choice was supported by the entire American people, as President Roosevelt emphatically declared on repeated occasions. More, the U.S. had sealed the alliance with the blood shed by its valiant fighting men on many battlefronts. To discourse in these circumstances on a "German conquest of Russia" was not only outrageous but a breach of faith.

Members of the joint Anglo-American high command.

Second. The Memorandum speaks of the possibility of Germany defeating the Soviet Union in 1943. Yet the battles of Moscow, Stalingrad and Kursk had already been fought. Moreover, the Memorandum predicted a significant decline in Germany's capabilities in 1944 as compared with 1943. Consequently, there were no grounds for talking about any reversal in the course of the war

unless someone came to nazi Germany's assistance against the Soviet Union. Who could have done that? The United States?

Third. The argument advanced in the Memorandum against the "third alternative" is not the heroic performance of their allied duty by the Soviet armed forces but a pseudo-moral discourse on the difficulty of mobilizing American and British public opinion in favour of an anti-Soviet coalition. And true enough, the peoples of these countries would not have tolerated betrayal. However, admission of the fact suggests that what was wanted was just such a turn-about in U.S. and British public sentiment. But how to bring it about? By trotting out the "Red threat" bogey. It is right there in the Memorandum, in its "Soviet War Aims" section, which contains the slanderous allegation that the Soviet Union's object in the war was

> "a considerable westward extension of the Soviet revolutionary system, with the establishment there of new Soviet governments under the domination of Moscow."

This is a plain case of plagiarizing the hysterical tirades of Goebbels, who did his utmost to play up the "Red danger" in an effort to disrupt the unity of the anti-Hitler coalition.

In Search of an "Inexpensive" Victory

Needless to say, the U.S. strategic intelligence chiefs and their supporters in the Joint Chiefs of Staff were not so naive as to go to Quebec with the sole object of "turning the full power of an undefeated Germany against Russia." They knew very well that the U.S. top leaders and many military men held altogether different views. In view of this the authors of the Memorandum had "in reserve" an auxiliary variant of their anti-Soviet "second alternative," which was

> "to pursue an independent strategy, in hope of an inexpensive defeat of Germany and an improved bargaining position vs. Russia."

And so the defeat of Germany had to be "inexpensive" and the whole purpose of that defeat was to secure a stronger position for the United States in the postwar setup. Let us take a closer look at this thesis which was quite frankly set forth in the Memorandum. The prospect envisaged was this:

> "In the absence of a deliberate, energetic and successful effort to change the recent trend of developments, Anglo-American and Soviet strategy and policy will probably pass, during the next six or eight months, from the present phase of comparative independence and incipient competition to a new phase of sharp rivalry.
> "First phase to the end of winter, 1943-44. Under the conditions just stated, the course of developments up to the end of the coming winter may be somewhat as follows:
> **"a. United States and Great Britain.**
> "Land operations may be continued on approximately the present scale.
> "No major land operations may be undertaken in Western Europe.
> "Strategic air operations may be considerably increased.
> "Political warfare activity may be devoted in part to an attempt to divide the non-nazis in Germany from the nazis and other persons responsible for the war, and terms somewhat conciliatory in character may be offered, on condition that the nazis and the generals be swept out of power.
> **"b. Soviet Russia**
> "Operations against Germany may continue on approximately the present scale, and with considerable success.
> **"c. Germany**
> "German forces may be diverted more and more from Western to Eastern Europe. The following factors would contribute to this change:
> "The absence of major Allied pressure in the West.
> "Heavy Russian pressure in the East, and the widespread German fear of Russia and of communism...."

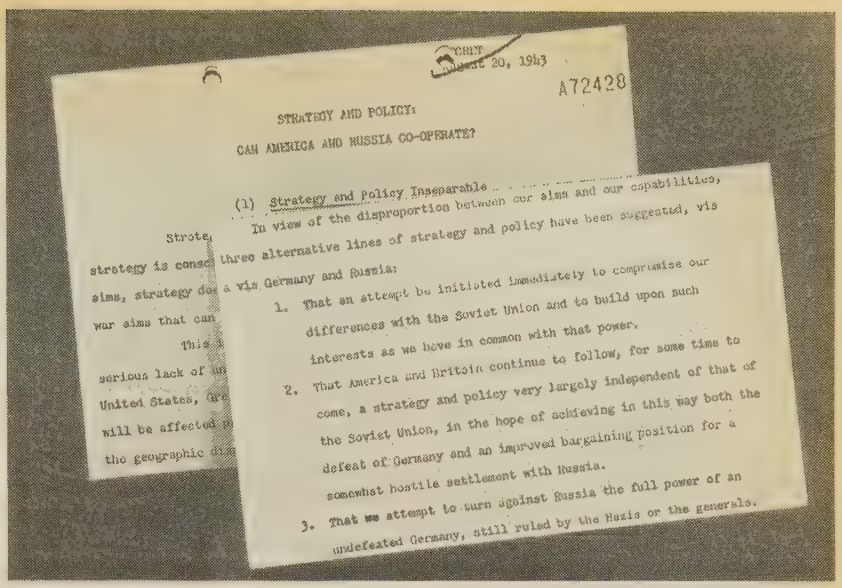
What did all this imply? First of all, further delay in opening the second front, at any rate until the spring of 1944. Second, pre-programmed hostility towards the Soviet Union. Third, renunciation of the principle of the unconditional surrender of Germany, and a deal with the German "non-nazis."

More, the authors of the Memorandum held that this should be followed in the spring and summer of 1944 by a second phase consisting of:

> 'a. The United States and Great Britain might launch an offensive of limited strength in the West.
> "b. The Germans, preferring Anglo-American occupation to Russian, might offer comparatively little resistance in the West, but attempt to hold their then-existing lines in the East.
> "c. In this situation, control might pass from the nazis to the German generals.
> "d. With limited Anglo-American forces advancing, with little opposition, into Germany, and the German army still attempting to check the Russians in the East, the generals might then ask the Western Allies for an armistice. It has been suggested that after the rejection of that appeal, the next steps might be as follows:
> "Transfer of authority to a centrist-Socialist government.
> "The support of this government by the Anglo-American forces."

This, then, is what the "inexpensive defeat of Germany" implied: a deal with some "centrist-Socialist government" (and perhaps with the German generals). Where did General Donovan expect to find such a government?

We shall return to this question later. In the meantime we shall examine the closing part of the Memorandum. It deals with the last American alternative: to concentrate maximum strength in Western Europe and seek immediate compromise with Russia.


A72428

STRATEGY AND POLICY:

CAN AMERICA AND RUSSIA CO-OPERATE?

(1) Strategy and Policy Inseparable

In view of the disproportion between our aims and our capabilities, strategy is conse three alternative lines of strategy and policy have been suggested, vis aims, strategy do a vis Germany and Russia:

war aims that can 1. That an attempt be initiated immediately to compromise our differences with the Soviet Union and to build upon such interests as we have in common with that power.

This 2. That America and Britain continue to follow, for some time to serious lack of come, a strategy and policy very largely independent of that of United States, the Soviet Union, in the hope of achieving in this way both the will be affected defeat of Germany and an improved bargaining position for a the geographic somewhat hostile settlement with Russia.

3. That we attempt to turn against Russia the full power of an undefeated Germany, still ruled by the Nazis or the generals.

Pages of the Memorandum.

Cooperation Nevertheless?

The authors of the Memorandum must be given credit for having given top priority among the alternatives to the opening of the second front and "immediate compromise with Russia." But their argumentation was this:

> "To repeat, the fundamental aims of the United States in this war are, in the interest of American security,

> 1) to destroy the German domination of Europe, and
> 2) to prevent the domination of Europe in the future by any single power (such as the Soviet Union), or by any group of powers in which we do not have a strong influence."

For this reason, the Memorandum went on to say, if there was to be a landing in Europe it had to be in force. At this point the authors sounded somewhat perplexed:

> "Given the continuance, on a moderately increased but still limited scale, of the Anglo-American attack on the Axis, the termination of hostilities with Germany would find the Soviet forces on the continent much stronger than those of the Western Allies. Yet with this prospect, the Soviet government still urges **with increasing** insistence that the Allies open a major land offensive against Germany."

Those strange Russians! To have such a splendid bargaining position and risk losing it! To the anti-Communists, with their twisted logic, it did not, and still does not, occur that concepts like "bargaining" and "advantage" are alien to the Soviet Union when it is a matter of allied relations. The main aim of the Soviet Union was the defeat of fascism and it was solely with this objective that it insisted on the U.S. and Britain living up to their commitments.

The Memorandum enumerates several points on which agreement with Moscow was essential for the realization of the "first alternative": the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan, the joint occupation of Germany, removal of the nazis and war criminals, reduction of German armaments, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, etc. But here again there was a fly in the ointment, an undisguised threat:

> "If compromise fails, America and Britain will then have no choice but to pursue their aims independently."

In other words, every opening had to be left for the last two "alternatives."

The Quebec Conference

President Roosevelt went to the Quebec conference, code-named Quadrant, in August 1943 not only with General Donovan's recommendations. Among other things, he had an important document entitled "Russia's Position" which set forth a different, far more realistic point of view. It said:

> "Russia's postwar position in Europe will be a dominant one.
> "Since Russia is the decisive factor in the war, she must be given every assistance and every effort must be made to obtain her friendship. Likewise, since without question she will dominate Europe on the defeat of the Axis, it is even more essential to develop and maintain the most friendly relations with Russia.
> "Finally, the most important factor the United States has to consider in relation to Russia is the prosecution of the war in the Pacific. With Russia as an ally in the war against Japan, the war can be terminated in less time and at less expense in life and resources than if the reverse were the case. Should the war in the Pacific have to be carried on with an unfriendly or a negative attitude on the part of Russia, the difficulties will be immeasurably increased and operations might become abortive."

This assessment, quoted according to Robert E. Sherwood, who published the text of the document, from a "very high-level United States military strategic estimate," was very close to that of the President himself. President Roosevelt's son Elliott recalled a conversation he had with his father before Quebec during which the President put a date on final victory.

"In Europe, by the end of 1944," he said. Elliott was surprised, but the President persisted: "Look at the way the Red Army is ploughing through the centre. . . ."

"And can we trust the Russians?" Elliott Roosevelt asked, evidently under the influence of sentiments current in certain Washington quarters.

"We're trusting them now, aren't we?" the President said. "What reason have we for not trusting them tomorrow?"

Elliott Roosevelt also recalled another significant opinion voiced by the President: "By next spring, the way things are going in Russia now, maybe a second front won't be necessary."

On August 10, 1943, just before the meeting in Quebec, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson drew the President's attention to the dangerous consequences of the previous postponements of the opening of the second front.

> "To me, in the light of the postwar problems which we shall face, that attitude ... seems terribly dangerous. We are pledged quite as clearly as Great Britain to the opening of a real second front. None of these methods of pinprick warfare can be counted on by us to fool Stalin into the belief that we have kept that pledge."

Roosevelt agreed, replying that Stimson had reached the same conclusions he had. That is why when the British representatives at Quebec tried to press for their "Balkan option," frightening the U.S. with a Russian invasion of Europe (i.e., pursuing the same line as Donovan), Roosevelt and several U.S. military leaders took a different position. As we know, it was in Quebec that the decision was taken that Operation Overlord—the invasion of Northern France—would be the main operation of 1944. The stage was thus set **for securing, in cooperation with Russia and the other allies, the unconditional surrender of the European Axis countries in the shortest possible time.**

There was of course an element of duplicity in the Quebec decisions. While declaring for Overlord, the participants in the conference left loopholes for the votaries of the "Balkan option." Moreover, there remained the Rankin plan—a plan of action in the event of the "sudden collapse" of Germany, of which there was no sign but which Donovan persistently predicted in order to get preparations started for the establishment of a "suitable" German government.

The opponents of U.S.-Soviet cooperation lost no time in making use of those loopholes.

(To be concluded)

Roosevelt and Churchill in Quebec.

WHOLESALE TERRORISM

OUTRAGES MEANT TO INTIMIDATE ● SCHOOLS OF BANDITRY ● WHO IS BEHIND IT

On the sunny morning of December 8 last about 100 passengers at Kabul airport were preparing to board a plane bound for Kandahar. Some were already going on board, and the loading of luggage had begun. Suddenly there was a violent explosion on the luggage platform. Six people were killed and more than 70 injured. Three of them died later in hospital.

The investigation revealed that a suitcase with an explosive device had been secreted among the trunks and bags of the passengers. The home-made bomb could not seriously damage airport facilities: stuffed with nails, sharp-edged bits of metal and bullets, it was intended to hit as many people as possible.

Another bomb exploded the next day in Kabul Polytechnic Institute at 12.30, when hundreds of students and lecturers were in the classrooms. Ten people were injured by glass splinters. By a mere chance no one was killed, because the bomb had been planted in the entrance hall which was empty at the time of the explosion.

The institute's pro-rector Naier showed me round the laboratory building where the time bomb had been laid in an inconspicuous spot.

"Had the bomb exploded half an hour later, when the classes end and the flocks of students pass through the entrance hall into the street, the consequences would have been much more tragic," he said.

Terrorist acts of this kind show that the killers are well trained and equipped with modern weapons of murder.

Poisoners

At the "farewell" party in the Varsak camp in Pakistan, where saboteurs and terrorists are trained for operations on Afghan territory, Shodihan and Lal Muhammad sat side by side, sipping fragrant green tea from the same teapot. In Kabul they were together again, this time in the investigation cell of a prison. The terrorists were captured at their safe houses, where they had been waiting for a parcel from Pakistan. The parcel was to contain small cylinders filled with psychotropic substance in the form of aerosol. A gas jet spurted into a man's face can knock him unconscious for several hours, while several jets are enough to send him to kingdom come. The American instructors in the camp told future saboteurs and terrorists that these cylinders would help them remove sentries and neutralize military or police posts with little trouble.

The Varsak camp, near Peshawar, is one of the 100-plus centres set up in Pakistan to train combatants, saboteurs and terrorists for the Afghan counter-revolution. The training period lasts from several weeks to several months, depending on the "specialization."

The training course at the Varsak camp was intensive, 10 to 12 hours a day, with two hours assigned to "theory," Shodihan and Lal Muhammad said. Monstrous lies about the policy and goals of the Afghan people's government were drummed into the recruits. They were also told about the "persecution" of Moslems in the Soviet Union and about the "noble and unstinting aid" given the Afghan "defenders of the faith" by their American, Pakistani and other "friends" abroad. At the camp's training range the recruits were taught how to shoot, plant and defuse mines, use toxic agents, camouflage themselves and cross gorges and rivers.

Lal Muhammad and Shodihan were not the first Varsak camp trainees to have been captured by security bodies of the democratic republic. In 1984 a certain Gulam Haidar, a would-be physician, was caught red-handed 20 km away from Kabul. The nervous behaviour of a young intelligent-looking man caught the attention of the officer in charge of a check point in the town of Pul-i-Charhi. His papers seemed to be in order, but when his knapsack was examined it was found to contain a cellophane bag filled with white powder.

The police thought it was heroin. Gulam Haidar was detained and the bag was sent to a chemical laboratory. The result of the test was completely unexpected. "The smell of bitter almonds, the positive reaction towards Prussian blue, and the appearance of crimson colour in an indicator tube suggest that the substance belongs to the group of cyanic compounds," it said.

The bag contained about half a kilo of the white powder ("readily soluble in water," as the chemists pointed out), enough to poison thousands of people.

I was allowed to talk to Gulam Haidar. He told me that he had agreed to deliver the powder to a clandestine band in Kabul for a generous reward. "I wanted to go to Western Europe or the United States, complete my medical education there, and find work in a reputable hospital," he added.

He was ready to kill in order to cure! Incredible. How had Gulam become so cynical? At 28, he is too far removed in time and space to remember the camps in which nazi butchers in white smocks carried out their monstrous "medical experiments." Or perhaps the three years spent abroad were for him a school of brutality? Who then are his teachers and what morals do they preach?

Gulam Haidar fled his native land seduced by promises of carefree and prosperous life he heard over the "free world" radio. But in Pakistan he found himself forced to do any unskilled job he could find in order to earn a bare living. He ran into debt and could no longer think of continuing his education. Finally, in despair, he came to the Varsak camp, where people like him were given food and shelter, and paid a decent "grant" besides.

In February 1984 Gulam Haidar was invited to the camp office for a talk with his instructor Azad, a tall, long-armed Pakistani, a representative of one of the Afghan counterrevolutionary parties based in Pakistan, and a European-looking man whom the Afghan called "our American friend."

"We have studied your background and believe it inexpedient to use you as an ordinary mujahiddin (defender of the faith)," Gulam was told. "To live in constant fear of being killed—that is not for you, a literate man soon to become a doctor. We ask you to carry out only one assignment. There is practically no risk, but your future will be ensured."

In addition to the lethal parcel, Haidar received in Peshawar false papers, money for travel to Kabul and back, and verbal instructions for the chief of a Kabul band. The white powder was to be used for poisoning drinking water in the 8th district of the capital, where large government offices and two girls' schools are located.

"This last is particularly important," the Afghan stressed. "Under the new regime our sisters are getting completely out of hand, forgetting their place and the laws of the Sharia. Not long ago I was in Kabul on our business and I saw many of them walking about the street without veils. There are many young girls in the schools and whenever there is a demonstration of some kind

they are always in the front ranks. It's time to put the fear of God into them."

CIA Manuals

The counterrevolutionary leaders regard sabotage and terror as one of the principal means of struggle against the people's government. Their main objective is to frighten the population and provoke unrest. Terrorist acts are carried out by groups specially trained for the purpose by experts from the secret services of the U.S., Pakistan and a number of West European countries. They kill or kidnap party and government officials and servicemen, conduct acts of sabotage in public places, at airports, fuel storages, pump houses, electric power stations, and on transport, and shell housing estates from mobile guns, mortars and other weapons.

Not long ago the Afghan news agency Bakhtar held a press conference to demonstrate the handbooks prepared by the CIA for the sabotage training centres in Pakistan and for the bands and terrorist groups operating in Afghanistan.

Among them was a pocket-size booklet, "Lessons of Guerrilla Warfare," distributed by the counterrevolutionary Islamic Party of Afghanistan. Its table of contents includes the following chapters: "How to Use Small Arms," "Types of Weapons," "Chemical Agents and Their Practical Use," "Use of Anti-Tank and Anti-Personnel Mines," "Anti-Aircraft and Rocket Weapons," "Ambushing," "Camouflage," "How to Hide in Mountains and Flat Country," "Destruction of Roads, Bridges and Communication Means," "Combat with Superior Enemy Forces," "How to Behave When Arrested," "Ciphering and Smuggling Letters out of Prison."

Another manual, "War in the Enemy Rear," is intended for the fifth column, for the counterrevolutionary underground. It contains instructions of an entirely different kind: how to become legalized, how to win people's confidence, to engage in subversion at the place of residence and work, how to set managers against their subordinates and tradesmen against buyers, sow panicky rumours, where and how keep arms, manufacture toxic agents and explosives.

New Times readers probably remember what an uproar was caused some time ago by reports about the manuals issued by the CIA for the contras fighting against revolutionary Nicaragua and how vehemently the CIA denied its complicity in the preparation and distribution of literature of this kind.

At the above-mentioned press conference the Bakhtar news agency also demonstrated by way of comparison the manuals put out for the Somozist bands in Nicaragua. It seems that the authors of manuals for the Afghan bands were not very imaginative—the same general outlines, the same recommendations, and even similar illustrations, but with a slight Moslem tint.

In their war against democratic Afghanistan the U.S. secret services closely cooperate with Pakistani intelligence. This was confirmed once again by a letter captured by Afghan public order forces and published in the Kabul newspaper Hakikate Enkilabe Thawr (Truth of the April Revolution). Here is the translation of this document:

"Top secret.

"From deputy head of the intelligence service of the Northwest Frontier Province, Peshawar.

"To director of the Central Intelligence Service of Pakistan, Islamabad.

"February 6, 1985.

"In keeping with the decision on creating an atmosphere of chaos in Afghanistan and especially in Kabul, by March 21, 1985 [the Moslem New Year —G.U.], we had infiltrated five of our highly active and experienced men in the groups of mujahiddins and sent them to Afghanistan. Each had been provided with Afghan papers.

"Only group commanders know that we infiltrated these men.

"Secrecy must be observed at all stages of fulfilment of the plan.

"Muhammad Ahmed Khan, deputy head of Northwest Frontier intelligence.

"Copies sent to:

"The war office of the President of Pakistan.

"The Chairman of the Afghan Refugee Committee."

It is easy to guess what decision the author of the letter had in mind. For several years now March 21 has been declared in the U.S. Afghanistan Day. On that day American TV reporters and highly-placed officials pour invective on the people's government of Afghanistan, prate about "solidarity with the courageous defenders of the faith," promise them aid of every kind and, simultaneously, urge them to continue the "holy war" against the revolutionary government without any scruples as to the means and methods used.

The instructors from U.S. secret services incite the counterrevolutionary bands to carry out particularly brutal acts of sabotage and terrorism on the eve of the New Year festivities. So it was on March 21, 1984, when terrorists set off a bomb in a Kabul mosque during the service there. Four people were killed and 21 injured in the explosion. So it was on March 20, 1985, when an explosive device went off in the rush hour on the crowded market square of the capital. Thirty people were taken to hospital. The lives of some of them could not be saved.

Terrorist acts and sabotage are often timed to coincide with revolutionary and national holidays, festivities and other important dates. The aim is to spoil the holiday and mar the joy, and also to show that the counterrevolutionary forces are still active.

The dushmans who sow death and destruction in their native land pose for a Western news photographer.
Photo from Panorama (Italy)

The citizens of Kabul and the entire country condemn terrorist acts against innocent people. Whomever I talked with after the December explosions—victims and doctors, relatives of the dead, and public order officials—all spoke with anger and contempt of those who masterminded and committed these vile crimes. "Venal mercenaries of the CIA. Cowardly murderers. Vain are their hopes," they said. "They will be punished by revolutionary justice. They will never succeed in undermining our determination and militant spirit. They will not check the steady advance of the revolution carried out with the aim of ensuring a better future of the people."

G. USTINOV

Kabul

Good-neighbourship, friendship, cooperation—that is what both countries need

THE MONUMENTS OF WAKKANAI

At first glance Wakkanai strikes the visitor as just another fishing town. It centres on a harbour heavily laden with the smell of the sea and its produce, and its waterfront is fringed with fishing boats. Beyond are the warehouses, processing sheds, and fish markets. A few steps farther is the main street with a standard array of shops, eating places, hotels, and, of course, the town hall, police station, firehouse, town hospital, and railway station. Another two or three alleys lined with dwelling houses bring one to the foot of steep hills that confine the town to a narrow coastal strip.

Wakkanai is Japan's northernmost town. In clear weather an observation platform on top of an 80-metre red-and-white tower (built in 1978 to mark the town's centenary) offers a view of a distant shore on the horizon. The Sakhalin coast lies slightly more than 40 kilometres from here.

Samurai Forepost

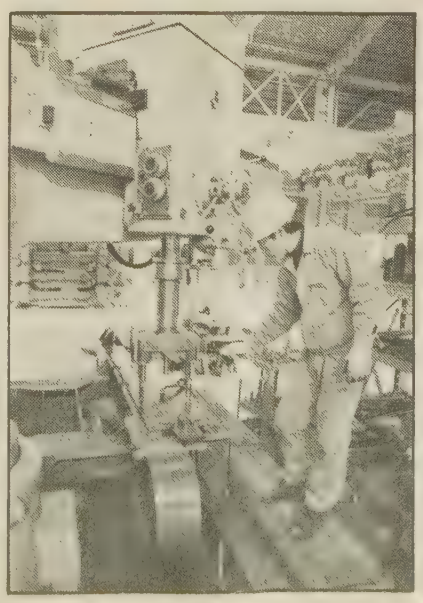
The geographical location of Wakkanai has determined its history. The town and its environs are rich in memorials of the past which not only revive memories of dramatic events that marked the early Russo-Japanese contacts, but also relate to the present complicated relationships between our two countries and prompt one to reflect on the future.

Cape Soya is Japan's northernmost extremity. At the pyramid-shaped topographical marker here tourists brace themselves against the blasts of wind and after taking a few snapshots hurry back to their buses. Few go to the nearby bronze figure of a samurai gazing in the direction of Sakhalin. This is a monument to Rinzo Mamiya, one of the first Japanese to venture into these rigorous parts.

At the beginning of last century Rinzo Mamiya twice sailed from Cape Soya to Sakhalin, which since the remote past had commanded the interest of the leaders of the Matsumae samurai clan who by that time had settled in southern Hokkaido. Rinzo Mamiya and his associates saw in the windswept inhospitable shores of northern Hokkaido not a place to settle down in, but merely a convenient point of departure for voyages into the beckoning "northern seas." It was only in the beginning of the 19th century that the central government began to pay attention to northern Hokkaido, and this because of the increasing frequency with which ships with Russian traders and travellers appeared in these waters. A history of Wakkanai which was presented to me at the town hall lists the occasions when Russians had as far back as the 18th century found themselves in the vicinity of Cape Soya as a result of shipwrecks, or had come here to trade or explore unknown lands. In 1807 the Russian ship Nadezhda under the command of the renowned navigator Krusenstern dropped anchor off Cape Noshappu where the Wakkanai centennial tower now stands.

Soviet machine tools at a Japanese plant—one example of mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

TASS photo



The Japanese government, alarmed by the frequent appearance of travellers and especially of traders of the Russian American Company, which had founded colonies in Alaska, began drawing up plans for countering the "Russian brigands" on Hokkaido. The northern part of the island remained a little-studied no-man's-land with a sparse population of the indigenous Ainus. It was not until 1807 that the samurais of the Tsugaru clan arrived to winter at Cape Soya. But cold, hunger and diseases they had never experienced before broke the spirit even of these hardened inhabitants of the northern part of the "main" Japanese island of Honshu. Only a handful of the wintering party survived to meet their successors, military settlers of the Aizu clan, in the spring of the following year. How these samurais fared is evident from the rows of crude stone obelisks bearing the names of clans and individual clansmen who had died a slow and agonizing death here. These obelisks, which stand some distance from the Rinzo Mamiya statue, are an added reminder that Wakkanai and the surrounding area was settled as a forepost against Russia and to facilitate the spread of Japanese influence northwards.

After its defeat in the 1904-05 war, Russia had to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin. Wakkanai with its convenient harbour became the main support base in the colonization of that island. It grew rapidly, its port was deepened and expanded, a railway was built to link it with the central districts of Hokkaido, and enterprises for processing timber, coal, oil, and other raw materials brought in from Sakhalin were set up.

It was from Wakkanai that a Japanese invasion force was dispatched during the intervention in the Soviet Far East.

The port became an important support base for the forces of the Imperial Army which were readied to stab in the back the Soviet people fighting the nazi hordes in World War II.

Gloomy Pages

There are a great many monuments to this period at Cape Noshappu some

30 kilometres from Cape Soya. The local museum here is in effect devoted to the history of the colonization of southern Sakhalin. A dusty maquette of the southern half of the island with the names of the towns, rivers and mountains in Japanese. Time-yellowed photos of business streets, amusement centres, residential districts of unattractive wooden houses. Panoramas of mines and prospecting sites where workers forcibly brought in from annexed Korea laboured under the supervision of Japanese experts.

Japanese-Soviet Friendship House in Wakkanai.

Only a few hundred metres separate the wartime monuments from present-day "monuments" of an altogether different order. For instance, from the antennas of an electronic surveillance station located on the northernmost point of Japanese territory and engaged in round-the-clock observation of Soviet territory. Built by the Americans, the station was handed over to the Japanese Self-Defence Forces in 1972. But the information collected continues to be sent to the U.S. National Security Agency. This became known a few days after the South Korean airliner provocation, in which the personnel of the Wakkanai electronic reconnaissance station played a direct part. Ever since the tragedy of September 1983 the Americans have attached particular importance to Wakkanai. Groups of experts are sent there regularly from bases in the Tokyo area and at Misawa. Local people, who are highly critical of the spy centre and its "re-Americanization," drew my attention to a plane with U.S. Navy markings at the Wakkanai airport.

"Such planes, which can be seen with increasing frequency in these parts, are indicative of the extended cooperation between the Japanese and American special services in spying operations against our neighbour, the Soviet Union," an airline passenger waiting for his plane at the airport told me.

The monuments of Wakkanai tell the story of episodes in the history of Japanese-Russian relations in which there is no dearth of gloomy pages and in which unpleasant words like "annexation," "intervention," "war," "captivity," and "provocations" abound. History cannot be rewritten, nor can it be cancelled out. What should be done is to continue the chronicle using an altogether different vocabulary in which words like "peace," "cooperation" and "good-neighbourship" predominate. But what is needed is not only new words, but primarily new, positive deeds.

Friendship Cruises

There is in Wakkanai also something projected to an auspicious, peaceful future. It is a two-storey building reminiscent of an ancient Greek temple. On its fronton supported by columns is a depiction of a friendly handclasp, and next to it, the Japanese and Soviet flags flying side by side. An inscription cast in metal reads: "Wakkanai Japanese-Soviet Friendship House." Built in 1980, it is used for exhibitions, film showings, concerts, and meetings with seamen from Soviet ships and delegations from the Sakhalin city of Nevelsk, with which Wakkanai was twinned 14 years ago. The exhibitions dealing with life in the Soviet Union are viewed by the passengers of the "ships of friendship" that annually sail from here to ports in the Soviet Far East. The spacious halls are used for their meetings by activists of the local branch of the Japan-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society, which numbers some 500 members.

The activists of the society are faced with difficulties and unresolved problems, many of which have been engendered by the state of Japanese-Soviet relations. Suffice it to mention that for many years now the Tokyo authorities have categorically refused to allow staff members of the Soviet Consulate-General in Sapporo, the chief city of Hokkaido, to visit Wakkanai. Nevertheless, the advocates of friendship and cooperation with the U.S.S.R., among whom particularly influential is the mayor of the town, Tatsuo Hamamori, look to the future with optimism.

In his interview to your correspondent, Tatsuo Hamamori, who is one of the most highly respected municipal government leaders in Japan and has held his post for 28 years now, discussed that future. He began by recalling the Japanese saying, "a close neighbour is dearer than a distant relative," and proceeded to discuss, with a fervour rarely displayed by septuagenarians, projects with a bearing on good-neighbourship with the Soviet Union which would give Wakkanai its "second wind." For instance, it is proposed to open in 1987 a university at whose humanitarian department Russian would be taught alongside other foreign languages. The possibility thus provided of acquiring a university education on the spot would slow down the outflow of young people from the town. Besides, Wakkanai would get badly needed specialists with a knowledge of the Russian language. A new airport equipped to service jet liners is to be opened also in 1987. It will bring closer not only Tokyo and other key centres in Japan, but also the cities of Siberia and the Far East. Mayor Hamamori looks forward to the development of tourism, for Wakkanai is located in the centre of a big national park renowned for its birch woods, meadow flowers, and hot springs. Ferries carry all the year round thousands of tourists to the volcanic island of Rebun which rises to a cone that reminds one of the sacred mountain Fuji.

The mayor associates his hopes for the revival of Wakkanai's former significance as a fishing centre and seaport with the livening of commercial ties between Hokkaido and Sakhalin, between Japan and the U.S.S.R. Once the gateway to the colonization of southern Sakhalin, the port could again become a "gateway," this time to a flow of goods and the realization of large-scale Soviet-Japanese cooperation projects. It should not be forgotten, he said, that Wakkanai has fallen within the "magnetic field" of the Baikal-Amur Railway, which is the shortest and most reliable trade route between Japan and the U.S.S.R., Asia and Europe.

However, the most sincere and vigorous efforts of individuals, associations or even cities will produce little results without better interstate relations, wider trade, economic and cultural ties, and a radical improvement of the psychological atmosphere of Soviet-Japanese relations, the mayor stressed. Wakkanai, like the rest of Japan, is looking forward with keen interest to the projected visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and hopes that headway towards good-neighbourly, mutually beneficial and stable relations will be made already this year.

From Wakkanai Soviet shores are clearly visible, and from Sakhalin, the hills of Hokkaido—but only when the sky is clear of clouds.

Y. TAVROVSKY
Our Own Correspondent

Medicine is as infinite as outer space, but even more interesting, because we know much less about ourselves than we do about far-off galaxies, says the famous eye surgeon Svyatoslav Fyodorov

THE FYODOROV METHOD

TATYANA FIRSOVA

A tiny dot came up on a dark instrument screen all of a sudden. Swelling up fast and taking on a dazzling brightness, it filled the screen and assumed, almost instantaneously, the shape of a huge human eye, half a metre across, fringed with long dark eyelashes.

The surface of the eye's bright blue iris was covered with thin lines radiating from the pupil to the periphery. The lines had resulted from radial keratotomy, the operation which brought world renown to its inventor—Professor Svyatoslav Fyodorov, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences and director of the Moscow Research Institute of Eye Microsurgery.

Professor Fyodorov does not despise fame. On the contrary, he thinks it a reward for his efforts when he is recognized not only in Moscow streets but even way off across the ocean. It will be remembered that 200,000 Americans were able to abandon their eyeglasses upon undergoing the Fyodorov operation.

However, fame is by no means his object in life. Always working with his sleeves rolled up, never resting on his laurels—that is Fyodorov all over. For years he was among his institute's leading surgeons in the number of operations performed. Lately, though, he has "come down" to the fourth place: life compels him not only to treat patients but also to teach others how to effect quicker and more effective cures. Besides, foreign trips throw him out of the groove, but sharing his new-found knowledge with others is a sacred rule with a true physician.

Every time he crosses the threshold of an operating theatre, Fyodorov is determined to do all within his power to bring the patient back to health. This fanatical determination to succeed helps him do what was commonly believed to be impossible. Radial keratotomy (the term deriving from the Greek word "kerato" which means "cornea") is a case in point.

As a matter of fact, it was not Fyodorov who pioneered the surgical treatment of nearsightedness. Eyesight correction by means of cornea incision was first ventured by the Japanese surgeon Sato back in 1951. The results of his experiments were far from encouraging —they left every third patient half-blind. A new method was needed, and the road to it proved far longer than the Soviet surgeon had thought.

Where There's a Will...

During his first visit to the U.S. in 1970 Fyodorov got dead set on solving the problem of nearsightedness as soon as possible, though he still did not quite know how. The technique of myopia and hyperopia correction developed by the Colombian surgeon José Barraquer had already been widely publicized in the West.

The method boiled down to the following. The surface part of the cornea was removed from a bad eye by means of a "microkeratome" knife. Pre-frozen to —60°C, the corneal surface was worked on a special "lathe" for a few seconds and then sewed back on with cross stitches. Barraquer had designed all the equipment required for the operation himself. Far- and shortsightedness were corrected by polishing the periphery or the centre of the cornea, respectively. Barraquer sticks to his method to this day.

As Svyatoslav Fyodorov recalled later, making "eyeglasses" out of the cornea was devilishly hard work, but skill came with practice. The requisite equipment was very expensive to make. To cap it all, the method did not guarantee success. If the cornea was lathed just a bit thinner than necessary, the forces of intraocular pressure stretched it out, causing myopia to jump to 20-30 dioptres. The patients were sometimes in for other post-operation "surprises" which resulted in the further deterioration of their eyesight. Nevertheless, Fyodorov decided to take a risk. After about a hundred operations Fyodorov realized he was on a wrong track. The method was too expensive, insufficiently precise, and operation results were always difficult to predict.

In America he learned many interesting things—détente made exchange of experience possible on a wide scale. Even as he roamed New York streets in the evenings, he couldn't take his mind off the problem. One night he walked into a Broadway cinema where a new film, "Sleeper," was playing. It was about a man who hibernated for a few hundred years in a frozen state and was then brought back to life. After a group of doctors defroze the relic of the days long gone, the first thing he did was dig into a pocket and produce a pair of stylish eyeglasses. All those who surrounded him wore glasses, too. That was more than Fyodorov could bear. There's imagination for you! Piling up all the futuristic marvels—and failing to think up a substitute for the crude specs invented back in the 13th century! Fyodorov says that his resentment against this kind of mental inertia all but gave the main impetus to his further exertions.

Back from America, Fyodorov and his boys (much older now but as loyal to him as ever) started cutting the cornea in all directions and looking what this did to it.

By 1973 the hope that success lay in cutting the cornea became a certainty. Only the cornea had to be cut on the outside rather than on the inside, as Sato did. Shallow incisions reaching as far as the centre of the eye can reduce

its focal power and consequently near-sightedness. Especially active in this effort was the young physician Valery Durnev who, with his candidate's thesis almost ready, met with a tragic death in 1979.

Having developed the new, cornea-cutting technique, they still did not know all about the way the cuts worked. Full realization came later when it dawned on them that the scars forming as the cuts heal make the tissue younger, more flexible, and "better-seeing."

The first operations were made in 1974. Most ophthalmologists at home and abroad had their misgivings about them. They all thought it was barbarous to damage normal, healthy tissue. But Fyodorov mustered up all his extraordinary willpower and continued to operate.

Just an Ordinary Automatic Line

Ask anyone at Fyodorov's institute what AERL stands for, and the immediate reply will be: "The Automatic Eyesight Recovery Line." This is the name of the operating theatre opened at the Eye Microsurgery Institute in 1984. It is privately referred to here as a "conveyor line."

Before I dwell on it in more detail, I would like to explain why it occurred to Fyodorov to use methods more common at a factory than at a medical institution.

"That was the only course open to us," Svyatoslav Fyodorov said. "The progress of medical science lies not only in inventing or discovering a new method of treatment. What matters most is to cure as many patients as possible by means of this new, effective method. Can this be done by "individual" surgery? Let us do some elementary arithmetics. As many as 3,500 operations have been performed on the conveyor line to date, with only 16 patients developing slight post-operation complications. In case of "individual" surgery, the ratio is 3,500 to 156. The old and new methods improve the keenness of vision to 60-100 per cent in 89 and 98.5 per cent of the cases, respectively. Behind these percentages are human beings whose eyesight must be brought back to normal.

"How can I, as the director of the institute, guarantee each patient a cure? After all, the outcome of an operation depends on a number of attendant factors such as the surgeon's mood and skill, the competence of his assistant, etc. How to have the institute's 135 surgeons use only the latest methods of treatment? How to make the most of the equipment which costs millions but operates only three to four hours a day? How to teach young doctors new eye surgery techniques promptly? How to test the new method, instruments and other equipment?

"The answers to all these 'hows' have been provided by the work procedure we have adopted which consists in dividing the entire operation process into small stages (the way a computer works), with every surgeon taught to perform at least one element of the operation with consummate skill for maximum reliability. The result is a series of successive mini-operations which makes 'mass surgery' possible. What is more, such a series is suitable for 'flowline' surgical practice only."

So there it was, the Automatic Eyesight Recovery Line, the pride of the institute. The room walls are lined with stainless steel which gathers less dust than any other material. The operating theatre is half-lit, soft music pours out of invisible speakers. My first impression was I had walked into the wrong room, but a closer look confirmed it was an operating theatre all right. Five beams of light picked out of semi-darkness five desks arranged in a straight line, with surgeons seated behind them examining their five patients' eyes through microscopes. Was that a conveyor line? As if in answer to this question, the desks shifted to new positions, and the surgeons bent over their microscopes again, only this time each had a different patient in front of him.

As on any conveyor line, the duties are precisely divided. Each surgeon does only his part of the operation which he has mastered to perfection. In this way curing nearsightedness in an eye takes 10-15 minutes. This means that the throughput of the entire conveyor line amounts to 120 operations a day. Considering that in the U.S.S.R. 25 million people stand in need of being operated on for myopia and 500,000 for cataract, the AERL, designed expressly to remove these disorders, is of immediate practical use. Another important thing is that the conveyor promptly sets young surgeons on their own feet as they learn doing the operations element by element, stage by stage. Incidentally, there are many young surgeons at the institute. "I'm the patriarch here," Fyodorov, 58, says.

Logic and Common Sense

Fyodorov is a gifted surgeon, a clever organizer capable of infecting all those around him with his enthusiasm, a mature scientist and a prudent forward-looking executive, all rolled in one.

As a director, Fyodorov never practises administration by mere injunction. His firm belief in logic and common sense explains a lot about himself and about his institute. No more than five people have left the institute over the years of its existence. Although Svyatoslav Fyodorov may be quite cross at times, he is always interesting to work with.

Fyodorov is endowed by nature with rare imagination. Back in 1965, he described his then would-be institute, down to the minutest detail, in a letter to a Leningrad friend of his. He "programmed" it to be "a high-capacity health factory." Industrial plants are designed to produce so many lathes or machines, Fyodorov says. So why can't a hospital or a polyclinic have a rated output of cured cases? After all, the number of staff and operating rooms of certain kinds can be calculated in advance scientifically, not by rule of thumb. This is what he calls a statesmanlike approach to the matter.

Speaking of the way the work of the Eye Microsurgery Institute is organized today, one cannot help recalling the year 1970. At that time, Zlobin's composite-team method of housing construction was the talk of the country. Fyodorov was tempted to use it at the institute.

Indeed, curing an eye case, even a simple one, takes a number of specialists: diagnosticians, anesthesiologists, laboratory technicians and surgeons (incidentally, the institute's operating room is equipped with sophisticated apparatus handling all of which is beyond one surgeon's power). Therefore, each case has to be dealt with by a team.

At first, seven teams, each comprising 14-15 specialists, were formed. By now, the number of specialists in a team has been brought up to 20. Such a team sees a patient through from initial examination all the way to surgery (if necessary) and follow-up treatment. The team bears collective responsibility for the results of treatment, but a lion's share of this responsibility rests with the team leader. The changeover to this method resulted in efficiency growing 2.5 times within three years, and five times over another year later. Today the institute performs about 13,000 operations a year. Add to this the laser operations and radial keratotomy performed at the institute's polyclinic, and the figure will amount to nearly 27,000. To compare, the Soviet Union's 1,200 eye clinics perform 360,000 operations a year.

Is quantity the main criterion of success in bringing people back to health? Hardly so. What about quality then? Like any industrial plant, the institute has its quality inspectors—a commission of two or three doctors giving a fault-finding check to the condition of other doctors' patients who have gone through

a course of treatment at the institute. They discharge a patient only if his eyesight has improved by at least 30 per cent. But even a 30 per cent improvement is considered insufficient. In this case the doctor in charge, the department chief, the entire team and the patient are to come before Fyodorov who, for all his aversion to pulling rank on his subordinates, would not accept any excuses no matter how "plausible" they might sound.

Fyodorov is always to the point: he wants to know who has made a mistake and why. The guilty party, whatever his position, is called to account. After all, a human being is not to be written off as a dead loss. A patient has faith in his doctor who must live up to it. The doctor who has made a botch of an operation is relegated to the reception room ("the filter") where new patients are sorted out, and told to spend his spare time learning from his colleagues how to operate properly.

"To make skilful use of the scientists' creative potential, to provide incentives depending on their real contribution to the solution of theoretical and applied problems." These words from the draft of the new text of the CPSU Programme have been made a reality at the Eye Microsurgery Institute. "We shall have no wage-levelling. This is an unfair and useless practice," the staff and the director of the institute resolved. There is, after all, a government decree entitling a good surgeon to a bonus amounting to 40 per cent of his salary. At the institute, 200 and more operations a year earn a surgeon a 40 per cent bonus; 150-200 operations, 30 per cent; 100-150 operations, 20 per cent. The less you work, the less you earn.

All it takes a young surgeon to gain experience is his wish to do so. Every opportunity to improve on his performance is open to him. Take Fyodorov's team, for instance. It always consists of greenhorns. As soon as Fyodorov satisfies himself that a novice is firm on his feet, he gives him the go-ahead to operate on his own, and takes on another novice instead.

It is a rule with Fyodorov to examine patients with his young colleagues attending. Each of them is invited, in turn, to Fyodorov's consultation sessions on Thursdays. Such sessions are extremely instructive: while examining and interviewing a patient, Fyodorov communicates to young surgeons the details and finer points of his profession not to be found in any textbook. Besides Fyodorov, there are other top-notch experts to learn from: Zinaida Moroz, Alexander Semyonov and Valery Zakharov.

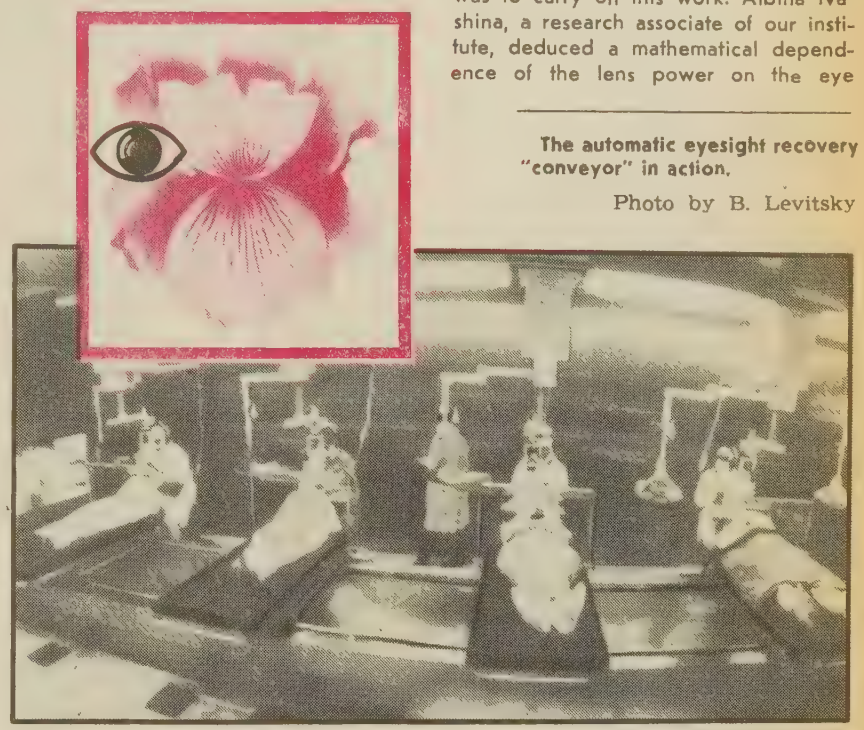
Through the Prism of a Silicone Crystalline Lens

Cataract is a dangerous disease. It affects over 2.5 million people a year. In India, for instance, there are nine million cataract cases. In our country there are also quite a few cases of crystalline lens clouding which causes a sharp deterioration of eyesight and threatens total blindness. Removing the cataract means replacing the natural crystalline lens by an artificial one.

The idea of crystalline lens substitution goes back many centuries. Back in the 18th century attempts were made to cut artificial crystalline lenses out of glass and rock crystal. The first implantation of a plastic crystalline lens was made by Harold Reedly, an Englishman, in 1949. Having miscalculated the weight of his creation, Reedly caused his patient serious complications—severe nearsightedness and astigmatism. This discouraged the surgeon from further efforts in this direction, all the more so since his experiments met with strong opposition on the part of his colleagues.

In 1960 Fyodorov, then the ophthalmological department chief at the Cheboksary branch of the Helmholtz Institute of Eye Diseases, made four crystalline lenses and implanted them with his own hands. This came in for much press comment—and was sharply disapproved by almost all eye surgeons one of whom was quoted as saying that "artificial crystalline lens implantation encroaches on the basic principles of ophthalmology." This was said after Fyodorov and Zakharov had invented, made—and patented in Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, the F.R.G. and the U.S.A.—their lens of extrapure polymethylmethacrylate now widely used also to make substitutes for heart valves and joints. The new intraocular lens—called Sputnik abroad—weighed one fortieth of its natural prototype and surpassed it 40 per cent in optical properties.

"What other arguments in its favour were needed?" Fyodorov wrote later. "All we could do to make out our case was to carry on this work. Albina Ivashina, a research associate of our institute, deduced a mathematical dependence of the lens power on the eye parameters. The resultant tables and graphs helped select crystalline lenses for every patient individually. Previously, cataract was removed first; then the necessary lens was selected and the eye allowed to heal only to be slit open again so as to put the lens in. Now the entire operation takes half an hour, at the very most."



The automatic eyesight recovery "conveyor" in action.

Photo by B. Levitsky

Scientific progress has made a revolution in the field of eye surgery. Until quite recently retina exfoliation (caused by morbid mutations in the eye-filling substance) was considered incurable. At the Eye Microsurgery Institute retina layers are "welded together" by means of a laser beam upon ascertaining the degree of exfoliation. Such operations are performed at the institute's polyclinic.

"New Times, Pushkin Square, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

"Dear ediors,

"A relative of mine suffering from retina exfoliation is now taking treatment here in Italy with little success.

Could he undergo an operation in Moscow? I hear you've got a surgeon who works miracles with the retina, and I'd like to know whether he would be willing to operate on my relative.

"Alfredo Vacchi, 11 Via Gianelli, La Spezia, Italy."

Just for your information, Signor Vacchi: beginning with 1986 any foreign citizen in need of treatment at the Eye Microsurgery Institute may purchase through Intourist a voucher entitling him to consultation and treatment at this institute.

Foreign citizens will be offered post-operation treatment at Intourist hotels.

How Much Is a Microscope?

Do you know how much a superior-quality microscope used in eye surgery costs? Forty thousand rubles, on the average. And what about the electronic tomographs and computers? So far we have been examining the methods used by the institute, and now let us take a look at its equipment.

About half of the funds the institute needs to buy its instruments and equipment on is provided by the state—not only in rubles but in hard currency as well. This is the case now that the institute has made a name for itself. And what was the situation before the methods it used won international recognition? At that time most of the equipment the institute's surgeons used was of their own design and making—necessity is the mother of invention, as the saying goes.

The institute's first inventors worked in bathrooms, at transformer substations, in basements, in stores closed for repairs, in all sorts of improvised "workshops." Today the institute runs a regular factory occupying two blocks and producing two million rubles' worth of equipment. Some of its products are exported so as to earn the currency the institute requires to buy what it needs abroad. The institute's design office and factory employ some 50 mechanical and chemical engineers, opticians, mechanics and physics experts and 220 workers ready to "custom-make" whatever equipment the doctors want at short notice. Quite often they bring new ideas of their own before the institute's medical staff. Practically everyone is engaged in invention there including the director himself who is the pioneer of new eye microsurgery techniques. In 1984 alone the institute's doctors and engineers came up with 88 inventions.

The institute has a computer centre which it can no longer do without. Computers determine the number of incisions to be made on the eye cornea to restore a patient's eyesight. They indicate how many operations were made on any particular day, what the complications were, if any, what or who caused them. But this is already a past stage. Now the institute's "brain trust" is busy thinking of ways to squeeze all the paperwork which takes so much of the doctors' time into punched tape. Monitors are to be installed in each department, and the doctors will no longer have to keep case histories from day to day. A monitor will provide instant information about any patient, thus saving the doctor's time. "What matters most for a surgeon?" Fyodorov usually asks newcomers and, without waiting for their reply, explains: "His head."

The institute does not only invent, but protects its inventions as well: it has a patent and licence department of its own. Anyone is welcome to the fruit of its efforts if he is ready to pay for them. In 1984 the institute sold 3.5 million rubles' worth of its patents and licences abroad. Last October Nikolai Trubilin, Minister of Public Health of the Russian Federation, and Svyatoslav Fyodorov inaugurated a factory in Clearwater, Florida, U.S.A., which will produce surgical instruments under Fyodorov's licence marked "Made at Eye Microsurgery Institute." According to Arnold Lipman, president of Medical Technology Development, the Soviet Union is 10-15 years ahead of the United States in the production of the instruments and equipment necessary for the microsurgery of the eye.

Know-how is always more profitable to sell than actual products. Therefore, Svyatoslav Fyodorov has added two new departments to the institute which are not quite typical of a medical establishment—a patent and licence office and a foreign economic relations division.

Beneficial to Each and All

"To promote mutually beneficial trade, economic, scientific, technological and cultural links with foreign countries. To make fuller use of the advantages offered by the international division of labour," say the draft Main Guidelines for the economic and social development of the U.S.S.R. in 1986-90 and in the period up to 2000. The institute has already accumulated some experience in this respect. In 1981 a course was open for foreign experts wishing to learn more about the Fyodorov method. Those who have completed the course take home with them not only new knowledge but also sets of instruments for their future operations. In 1985 over 40 surgeons from Venezuela and Italy, Brazil and Spain, the U.S. and Cuba went through the course.

The unflagging interest evinced abroad in the institute's work has compelled it to seek new forms of contacts with foreign experts. Export programmes were drawn up, with the course constituting only a part of these programmes. What does the institute supply to foreign colleagues? The answer will be found in a recent licence agreement signed with the Eurolens company which has international status. Many countries will purchase, through the Eurolens, licences for six surgical techniques, various microsurgical instruments, artificial crystalline lenses and packs of application programmes for determining keratotomy procedures. The eye surgeon Jim Gills, working in Florida, is going to build a Fyodorov conveyor.

For its part, the institute purchases the latest and the very best of what other countries have to offer. Twenty-five contracts worth a total of about two million rubles were signed in 1984. The biggest purchase was the automatic eyesight recovery line manufactured by Siemens, F.R.G., to the institute's specifications. Besides, two electron microscopes were bought.

* * *

In the spring of 1985 the Ministry of Public Health of the U.S.S.R. decreed that the Fyodorov method be adopted by 23 of the country's clinics. This is only the beginning. On Fyodorov's desk there stands a model of a polyclinic based on the principle of non-intersecting patient flows. Upon crossing its threshold, a patient will subside into a chair which will carry him from room to room so that he could consult all the doctors he needs without wasting his time on too much legwork, as is the case today. This is a matter of the future but knowing the way Fyodorov works, not too distant future. In fact, the first polyclinic of this kind is already under construction. The time when radial keratotomy will be taken over from human surgeons by robots is not too far off.

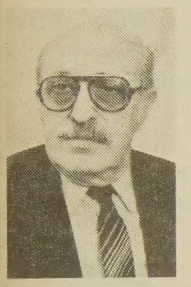
What will the surgeon Fyodorov and his associates do when this happens? "Think," Svyatoslav Fyodorov says. "We must think of ways to improve our methods further and, ultimately, to eliminate eye diseases for good."

■

TAKING UP A POINT

As a sincere friend of your country I find it painful to see with what glee our press, radio and television seize upon reports about "disarray" in the Soviet economy and "flaws" in its management to play up your difficulties. They often obtain this information from your mass media. Why do you supply them with ammunition!

Robert COLLET
Lyons, France



Our staff writer MIKHAIL KOBRIN replies:

I fully understand how you feel about this. And I must say that, judging by our mailbag, your view is shared by some of our other readers. Nevertheless I cannot agree with the advice implied in your letter that the Soviet press should maintain a shamefaced silence on this score and, with ill-wishers in mind, report only our achievements while closing its eyes to our shortcomings, miscalculations and mistakes. Such one-sided treatment of our realities is alien to us. Let me tell you why.

No attentive and unbiased observer of our life can fail to see the changes for the better that are taking place in the political and moral climate in our country. Underlying these changes are objective circumstances.

The crux of the matter is the need to renounce methods of **extensive** economic development. The April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee set the task of sharp qualitative acceleration of socio-economic progress through **intensification** of production. Can this be achieved without boldly, uncompromisingly revealing shortcomings, without open, impartial criticism of all who are unable or unwilling to keep in step with the times? Can there be movement forward without exposing the causes of retrograde tendencies, indifference, and fear of the new? All this must be done openly, for to ignore the defects merely perpetuates them, whereas honest, public, concerned criticism of them is the best way to cure malaises that fetter our potentialities. All our experience, both positive and negative, is testimony to the correctness of this approach.

We by no means consider our society ideal, the acme of perfection. It is precisely because of this that the draft of the new text of the CPSU Programme, now being discussed nationwide, lays the prime emphasis on **perfecting** the socialism we have built. Having set ourselves this strategic task, we cannot indulge in self-satisfaction, self-adulation and self-deception, we cannot but wage a relentless struggle against all that hinders our progress. And, of course, we do not, ostrich-like, hide our heads in the sand of complacency for fear that someone somewhere might make use of our self-critical evaluations in order to denigrate and vilify socialism, to draw pre-programmed anti-Soviet conclusions. We are strong enough not to be afraid of that, strong enough to sweep out the rubbish from our own house.

The Soviet press, radio and television uncompromisingly and effectively lay bare the negative phenomena still encountered in our economy, public life, in the sphere of morality and human relations. The Party vigorously combats embellishment of reality, all kinds of hare-brained schemes, and ostentation.

At one of its recent meetings the CPSU Political Bureau underscored the importance of objective information. The Party and government leadership unequivocally supports the critical spirit of realism which now pervades the political atmosphere in our country. More, all those who seek to evade deserved criticism are subjected to social ostracism and duly penalized.

The frank and honest position taken by our mass media is having the desired effect. Let me cite a few instances gleaned from the press within the past few days. For example, the vice-chairman of the State Committee for Supply, in reply to an article published in Pravda, informed the editors of the paper that a commission of representatives of a number of government departments had been instructed to ascertain exactly who was responsible for the failure to carry out a government decision on ensuring an adequate supply of economical packaging material. The newspaper Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya published the replies of eight top executives of industrial ministries which had been criticized for not having seen to the rapid application in practice of new discoveries and inventions. The Bureau of the CPSU Regional Committee of the Tatar Autonomous Republic informed the trade union newspaper Trud of the steps taken following an article in that paper by a Kazan construction worker who had drawn attention to serious shortcomings in the organization of construction work.

It is noteworthy that those in the West who so eagerly play up our troubles rarely say anything about what is being done to eliminate them. And nothing at all is said about the far-reaching significance of the reappraisal of values that is taking place in our country in the matter of economic management, attitude to work, and organization of production.

There is another, seemingly secondary but nevertheless highly important, aspect of the discussion now under way affecting every sphere of our life. This discussion, especially now, on the eve of the coming 27th Congress of the CPSU, is being joined by ever broader sections of the public. In this way it cultivates civic consciousness and a sense of involvement in everything that takes place in our country, a sense of personal responsibility for its future. It is, in short, a schooling for every Soviet individual in the administration of the affairs of state and society. All of which helps to develop further the system of socialist government by the people.

I trust that this will help you to understand why we can afford not to pay any attention to what our ill-wishers say about us. After all, as the old Oriental saying has it, "the dogs bark but the caravan moves on." Our Soviet caravan is confidently moving ahead to new horizons, surmounting the sand dunes of conservatism, the quicksands of bureaucracy, the thorny thickets of toadying, timeserving, dishonesty and disregard for law. The compass for us Soviet journalists is what Lenin said on this score: "We need full and truthful information. The truth must not be tampered with." ■

P.S. POSTSCRIPT

Keeping Tabs on Each Other

The secret services of the U.S. and its allies constantly snoop on one another. Though the allies seldom employ agents in the field for these purposes they do resort to virtually all other techniques, the Washington Post has observed in this connection. The paper adds that in line with a secret circular of 1981 from the Pentagon's intelligence division all military attachés and intelligence officers are ordered to keep it informed about the activities of the secret services of Canada, Israel, the F.R.G., Greece and many other "friendly" countries.

Cassette Pirates

Spanish recording companies are greatly worried over their losses from pirated cassettes of pop stars and groups. Thus, according to the Madrid magazine Cambio 16, in 1984, compared with 1982, the number of cassettes illicitly sold in Spain multiplied sevenfold, topping by a full million the number of those sold legally.

Still at It

During a recent trip abroad Ian Smith, ex-head of the currently nonexistent Rhodesian regime, said that most Zimbabwe blacks were "illiterate and ignorant about politics," AP reports. Back in Zimbabwe he was obliged to tender an official apology in Parliament. He had clearly forgotten that the days when he could say such things with impunity are gone.

Diplomatically Put

The Commission of the European Communities has given the U.S. Administration a list of unfair American trade practices, UPI reports. Its spokesman, Willy de Clercq, diplomatically commented, when presenting the document, that "the United States applies practices which do not seem to be in conformity with international trade rules." Officials say the document probably speaks of the heightened tariffs, import curbs and direct and indirect subsidizing of exports, in other words, Washington's craving to win by fair means or foul its trade war with Western Europe.

Definitely Underrated

John Hoskyns, director-general of the British Institute of Management, says that though women executives do a very good job, they are definitely underrated, the Spanish newspaper Pais reports. Indeed, British women hold only five per cent of managerial posts. They account for only 7 per cent of the architects and only one per cent of the engineers.

The 1985 Record

Last year far more acts of terror were registered in the F.R.G. than in the previous year, the Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger tells us. Arson and bombs comprised the majority of the officially registered acts, which caused damage totalling 25 million marks.

Know Your Greens Too

An illustrated handbook of plants has been specially issued for Sicily's police, the West Berlin Tagesspiegel notes. It is to help them spot plantations of narcotic-yielding grasses, especially marijuana, which are camouflaged by tomatoes and other crops.

Arithmetic of Alcoholism

Drink causes the U.S. economy annual losses running to $120 billion, say representatives of a newly-founded national coalition for higher liquor taxes. The said losses are made up of losses at work, the expenses incurred to treat related injuries and illnesses, plus other consequences of alcoholism.

On the Subject of Civilized Norms

Asked by a British TV reporter why his government would not release African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela from jail, Louis Nel, head of a South African information bureau, said they were only asking "for compliance with ordinary civilized norms." In a concurrent dispatch from Johannesburg Le Monde noted that nearly a thousand had been killed in South Africa during unrest since July 1984. It further quoted a statement issued by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee to the effect that never in South Africa's history had repression been so massive, affecting every stratum of society.

Drawings by V. Chakiridis

NEW TIMES на английском языке NEW TIMES is delivered abroad by AEROFLOT АЭРОФЛОТ

V/O VNESHTORGREKLAMA has 20 years' experience of rendering advertising services to foreign companies in the U.S.S.R.

WE OFFER OUR HELP— THE SUREST WAY ONTO THE SOVIET MARKET

V/O VNESHTORGREKLAMA will help you:

- establish business contacts with the representatives of prospective buyers and decision-making organizations;
- obtain information on market demand for specific goods and services;
- organize all-round product-promotion campaigns;
- advertise your wares in the Soviet specialized press;
- arrange advertising symposia and presentations;
- acquire outdoor and indoor advertising space (at retail outlets, stadiums);
- organize direct-mail advertising;
- publish and distribute special advertising and informative matter;
- place ads and announcements in the "Businessman's Moscow" Directory;
- advertise by radio;
- undertake public relations exercises;
- make use of other advertising services practised in the U.S.S.R.

V/O VNESHTORGREKLAMA
SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE
ADVERTISING ORGANIZATION
31, Kakhovka Street, Moscow, 113461,
U.S.S.R.
Cables: VNESHTORGREKLAMA
MOSCOW
Telephone: 331-83-11
Telex: 411265

NT ATLAS

ALBANIA

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Area: 28,700 km². Population (1983): over 2.9 million, with Albanians constituting an overwhelming majority.

Albania is an agrarian-industrial country. The industry (mining for the most part) accounts for over 45 per cent of its national income. Plant growing is the leading branch of Albania's agriculture.

The country has more than 1,000 km of motor roads and 400 km of railways.

Installations (operative and under construction):

— gasworks

— iron-and-steel works

— ore-dressing mill

— hydroelectric power station

— railways

— thermal electric power station

— coal mine

— oil field

— cotton

— tobacco

ИНДЕКС 70622 ... НА АЛБАНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ